

Richard Nixon Presidential Library
Contested Materials Collection
Folder List

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
14	1	7/31/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: Peter Daily, Phil Joanou RE: Materials Distribution. 1 pg
14	1	7/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: Peter Daily, Phil Joanou RE: Campaign Song. Attached: handwritten notes regarding subject. 3 pg
14	1	7/27/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: Jeb Magruder, Fred Malek RE: Intellectuals for the President
14	1	7/25/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: Ollie Atkins RE: The RNC Publication. 1 pg

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
14	1	7/24/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Pictures for RNC Publication. 1 pg
14	1	7/22/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: Peter Daily, Phil Joanou RE: Campaign Slogans. 1 pg
14	1	7/19/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: Peter Daily, Phil Joanou RE: Campaign Promotional Materials. 2 Copies. 3 pg
14	1	7/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: Stan Anderson RE: Convention Delegates. 1 pg
14	1	7/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: Alexander P. Butterfield RE: Celebrities

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
14	1	6/26/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Raymond Caldiero To: Herbert L. Porter RE: Celebrities, Athletes, and American Music. 6 pg.
14	1	7/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: Patrick Buchanan RE: Exchange of letter between National Association of Retail Grocers and George McGovern. 1 pg.
14	1	6/30/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Correspondence between National Association of Retail Grocers and George McGovern. 1 pg.
14	1	6/29/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: George P. Shultz To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Correspondence between National Association of Retail Grocers and George McGovern. 1 pg.
14	1	6/1/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From: George McGovern To: Frank D. Register RE: Caesar Chavez and the lettuce boycotts. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
14	1	5/22/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From: Frank D. Register To: George McGovern RE: Caesar Chavez and the lettuce boycotts. 1 pg.
14	1	7/1/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: Pat Buchanan RE: Campaign tactic portraying George McGovern's association with other great American leaders. 1 pg.
14	1	7/1/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Written by: Clayton Fritchey Headline: The Company McGovern Keeps. RE: Campaign tactic portraying George McGovern's association with other great American leaders. Original and copy are included. 2 pg.
14	1	7/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: Dwight Chapin RE: Wave II Campaign Surveys. 1 pg.
14	1	7/27/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Wave II Campaign Surveys-Teeter Materials for Chapin. 2 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
14	1	7/25/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Robert M. Teeter To: Dwight L. Chapin RE: Issue and Appearances Data From Second Wave Polling. 20 pg.
14	1	7/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Personal	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: Ken Cole RE: Freeze on H. Ross Perot's calls. 1 pg.
14	1	7/27/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: Dwight Chapin RE: RNC Convention. 1 pg.
14	1	7/25/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: L. Higby To: Gordon Strachan RE: RNC Convention Speeches. 2 pg.
14	1	7/26/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: Ken Cole RE: Campaign Surveys- Wave II. 1 pg.

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14	1	7/26/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: Dwight Chapin RE: Sinatra's primary contact. 1 pg.
14	1	7/22/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: Ray Caldiero RE: Celebrities. 1 pg.
14	1	7/24/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: Dwight Chapin RE: Updated campaign Strategy Memoranda. 1 pg.
14	1	7/20/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Doug Hallett To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Larry Higby's Request of July 19th and Campaign strategy. 5 pg.
14	1	7/21/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Doug Hallett To: H.R. Haldeman RE: How the President should begin campaigning. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
14	1	7/22/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Ken W. Clawson To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Campaign Strategy. 2 pg.
14	1	7/21/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Ray Price To: Bob Haldeman RE: Campaign Strategy. 2 pg.
14	1	7/16/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Outline of keynote presentation for Republican convention followed by notes regarding keynote. 6 pg.
14	1	7/21/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Ray Price To: Bob Haldeman RE: First Family Scheduling. 2 pg.
14	1	7/21/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: John Scali To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Election Strategy Addendum. 2 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
14	1	7/20/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Bill Safire To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Covention. 1 pg.
14	1	7/21/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: John C. Whitaker To: H.R. Haldeman and John D. Ehrlichen RE: Campaign Strategy. 8 pg.
14	1	7/21/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Bryce Harlow To: Larry Highby RE: Follow-Up on Campaign Strategy. 1 pg.
14	1	7/21/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Harry S. Dent To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Update on June 16 Campaign Strategy Memo. 1 pg.
14	1	7/20/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Robert H. Finch To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Update on Campaign Strategy (In light of the Democratic Convention). A copy is directly attached. 4 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
14	1	7/20/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Dwight L. Chapin To: Larry Higby RE: Feedback on previous memos regarding campaign strategy. Copy attached. 2 pg.

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: H. R. Haldeman
Box Number: 239

Folder: Strachan Chron A-L July 1972

<u>Document</u>	<u>Disposition</u>
1	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Dailey & Joanou, 7-31-72
2	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Dailey & Joanou, 7-28-72
3	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Magruder & Malek, 7-27-72
4	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Atkins, 7-25-72
5	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Dailey & Joanou, 7-22-72
6	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Dailey & Joanou, 7-19-72
7	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Anderson, 7-7-72
8	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Butterfield, 7-7-72
9	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Buchanan, 7-7-72
10	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Buchanan, 7-1-72
11	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Chapin, 7-28-72
12	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Cole, 7-28-72
13	Retain Open
14	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Chapin, 7-27-72
15	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Colson, 7-19-72
16	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Chapin, 7-15-72
17	Return Private/Political Memo, Timmons to Chapin, 7-11-72
18	Return Private/Political Memo, Timmons to Chapin, n.d.
19	Retain Open
20	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Chapin, 7-10-72
21	Retain Open
22	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Chapin, 7-10-72
23	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Chapin, 7-10-72
24	Retain Open

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: H. R. Haldeman
Box Number: 239

25	Retain	Open
26	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Chapin, 7-1-72
27	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Dailey, 7-31-72
28	Retain	Open
29	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Dent, 7-31-72
30	Retain	Close Agency Policy Memo, Strachan to Dean, 7-31-72
31	Retain	Open
32	Retain	Open
33	Retain	Open
34	Retain	Open
35	Retain	Open
36	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Dailey, 7-7-72
37	Retain	Open
38	Retain	Open
39	Retain	Open
40	Retain	Open
41	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Follow-up, 7-29-72
42	Retain	Open
43	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Follow-up, 7-26-72
44	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Follow-up, 7-26-72
45	Retain	Open
46	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Follow-up, 7-25-72
47	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Follow-up, 7-22-72
48	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Follow-up, 7-22-72
49	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Follow-up, 7-19-72
50	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Follow-up, 7-18-72

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: H. R. Haldeman
Box Number: 239

51	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Follow-up, 7-18-72
52	Retain	Open
53	Retain	Open
54	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Follow-up, 7-11-72
55	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Follow-up, 7-11-72
56	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Follow-up, 7-10-72
57	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Follow-up, 7-10-72
58	Retain	Open
59	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Follow-up, 7-10-72
60	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Follow-up, 7-10-72
61	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Follow-up, 7-10-72
62	Retain	Open
63	Retain	Open
64	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Follow-up, 7-7-72
65	Retain	Open
66	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Higby, 7-28-72
67	Retain	Open
68	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Higby, 7-25-72
69	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Higby, 7-24-72
70	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Howard, 7-22-72
71	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Higby, 7-22-72
72	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Higby, 7-20-72
73	Retain	Open
74	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Harper, 7-13-72
75	Retain	Open
76	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Howard, 7-7-72

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: H. R. Haldeman
Box Number: 239

77	Retain	Open
78	Retain	Open
79	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Khachigian, 7-14-72
80	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Khachigian, 7-11-72
81	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Khachigian, 7-10-72
82	Retain	Open
83	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Khachigian, 7-13-72
84	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Khachigian, 7-13-72

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

July 31, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

PETER DAILEY
PHIL JOANOU

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Materials Distribution

It was my understanding that you were going to keep me up to date weekly on the distribution system of the campaign materials. Specifically, I need to know which states have ordered, when they will arrive, and whether the highly counted Reuben H. Donnelly system is in fact working as smoothly as it was promised.

cc: Jeb Magruder

GS/jb
FU - 8/4

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

July 28, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

PETER DAILEY
PHIL JOANOU

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Campaign Song

Bob listened to both campaign songs yesterday and I thought it would be helpful if I put his comments that we discussed on the telephone down in writing.

Basically, he thinks both songs are very good. He was particularly impressed with the second song and thought that the lyricist, Ken Sutherland, deserves credit. The second song, which he considered better entertainment, did not strike him as a rally song. He reviewed several of the classic rally songs, such as "Happy Days Are Here Again" and "Dolly", and pointed out that those songs really fire people up.

He suggested the possibility of using the chorus from the second song as the real rally song, as he believes that the chorus could be easily taught to rally crowds. All of song number two might also be teachable to rally crowds.

Bob also listened to the other two songs -- the one to "Stars and Stripes" and the Lionel Hampton -- and considered them fairly good too. He believes that all of them should be worked up by a commercial group such as the Mike Carb Congregation and that we should do all of them at the Convention. His thought was that we could test all four at the Convention.

As I mentioned on the telephone, he wants you to prepare a montage "Coke" type commercial to be used with song number two.

He also wanted to know whether we currently own all performance and other rights in the first two songs or whether they have to be negotiated separately. It is my understanding from Carruthers that we already own all performance rights.

He is still not convinced that we have found "the rally song". He believes we need a song of four stanzas in two-four time that could be a real fire-them-up campaign song. The type of tune we need must be simple and probably in the public domain so that the people know it. One possibility he suggested was "Tradition" from "Fiddler on the Roof". He also thought you might like to listen to the "Nixon's the One" song from the "Take Me Along" melody used in 1968.

Finally, he wondered if the second song adequately appealed to youth or whether something further out should be prepared.

You should know that Bill Carruthers is arranging to have the Mike Curb Congregation sing both songs. Carruthers has been advised to make sure that an attempt is made to separate the syllable, "Nixon--New", so that it does not slur together.

cc: Jeb Magruder

GS/jb
FU - 7/31

Cash - anyone asked to write song? He needs
4 stanza chorus like "I'll walk the line"
- maybe chorus of #2 is the camp song.

Cristen Menstrel? still around + avail?

2nd - Kirl Congreg to do for Canillers
- better entertainment, but
not rally song - need
something for entry to
rallies

1st Wrong beat for camp song
for others being brot into rally
Wap Days here again - epitome
Ex - "Rollie" / Fire People Up.
3 other songs? - stayed in
cal for Canillers?

H wants
to cheer

Dailey

2/4 beat
March beat
known tune
Fire people
up
2nd

Neither says - President. - 2 says for Day

2nd sensational - still entertainment
song

1 way out
song - for
Yupie

- Both good
Neither Rally Song, but do we
really want rally song. Turn people
know

2/4 rally
beat not
march
beat.

H has record of Campaign Songs.
Tried on others outside? no

Nixnow - 1 word place like Milan
could teach #2 or at least chorus
lyrics of #2 good - written by Ken Sutherland?

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

July 27, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JEB MAGRUDER
FRED MALEK

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Intellectuals for the President

As I have mentioned to both of you several times, this program is moving with or without your guidance. Not only are there isolated incidents which keep popping up (most recent example - Max Ascoli), but also Len Garment is bringing a fellow by the name of Warren Weaver here to Washington on Tuesday. He will begin working full time running this operation. Just thought you would be interested in knowing as it seems that the void at 1701 will be filled in any event.

GS/jb

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

July 25, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

OLLIE ATKINS

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

The RNC Publication

In light of the extremely poor selection of the cover picture of the President for this week's "Monday" (copy attached), it has now been requested that you select the best picture from the event that they want and give only that picture to them. Apparently the current system involves you sending four or five pictures of the event and John Lofton has the option of selecting which one. That system should be stopped and you should send your selection.

cc: Dick Howard

GS/jb
FU - 7/31

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 7/24

TO: H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Ollie Atkins office says that
3 - 4 better pictures of the
President and Fitzsimmons were
supplied to John Lofton.

Colson should begin clearing
Lofton's picture selections.



*Or just let Ollie
select the best one
& give it to them*

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

July 22, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

PETER DAILEY
PHIL JOANOU

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Campaign Slogans

Len Garment sent a slogan to Bob - "Keep America Great - Re-Elect the President." Although the slogan for the campaign has been chosen, Bob thought you might be interested in using this line in some of your campaign advertising materials

GS:car

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

yellow

July 19, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: PETER DAILEY
PHIL JOANOU

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT: Campaign Promotional Materials

Pursuant to our conversation today, the campaign promotional materials order booklet has been approved subject to the following changes:

- 1) The letter "N" should be solid gold instead of part gold and part blue. That's not 14-carat gold, but rather just solid gold finish. Also, it should be a little better quality than the blue and gold ones submitted;
- 2) American flags are also to be worn in the lapels and their availability should receive a special note in the ordering booklet. The goal is to have people wear both the letter "N" and the American flag. However, the letter "N" and the American flag need not be connected by the small gold chain as the other example submitted was;
- 3) The cover of the ordering booklet that uses the cut-up version of the American flag is not approved. You should develop an alternative cover not using some modified version of the flag for quick approval;

The bumper stickers and buttons that were delivered by Bill Novelli to me today are also approved as prepared.

To prevent any confusion as to the exact status of all these materials in terms of printing, distribution, purchasing, and use, please keep me advised of every accurate detail. I don't need any elaborate reports but I do need a twice weekly update of exactly where we are on all these promotional materials.

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

July 19, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

**PETER DAILEY
PHIL JOANOU**

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

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GS/jb
FU - 7/24

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

July 19, 1972

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PHIL JOANOU

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

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GS/jb
FU - 7/24

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

July 7, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

STAN ANDERSON

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Convention Delegates

Fred Malek mentioned on the plane yesterday that you were preparing a more detailed analysis of the delegates to the Republican Convention. I am particularly interested in the percentage of black, youth, Spanish speaking, etc. When you prepare the material for MacGregor or Malek, please send me a copy.

GS/jb
FU - 7/10

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

July 7, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

ALEXANDER P. BUTTERFIELD

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Celebrities

You may be interested in reviewing Higby's comments on the Caldiero memo on Celebrities. I reviewed the comments with Ray today and indicated to him that we considered him the one man responsible for Celebrities and that these were merely suggestions for his consideration and implementation. The matter which I did not cover with him appears on Page 3 - that is, Larry's comments to get him out from under Porter and working for Magruder directly. I covered this matter with Magruder personally today and Caldiero will now report directly to Magruder and not through Porter.

I have covered with Caldiero your role regarding Celebrities and the relationship with Taft Schreiber.

I would appreciate your comments on the Caldiero memorandum so that we can get the Celebrities project in an agreed upon form for implementation.

GS/jb

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

June 26, 1972

Moach

MEMORANDUM FOR: HERBERT L. PORTER
FROM: RAYMOND CALDIERO *Ray*
SUBJECT: Celebrities, Athletes, and American Music

Prior to our visit to California, you asked me to get involved as much as I could while in Los Angeles with the Celebrity/American Music/Athlete combine and to offer you my honest appraisal of the situation with specific recommendations for improvement and proper utilization of this resource.

The following represents the current status of the Celebrity/American Music/Athlete program, its needs, problems, and recommendations with specific ideas and programs that should be implemented immediately.

Current Status:

At the present time, you have three separate celebrity divisions -- the movie industry celebrities, with offices in Los Angeles and New York; American Music in Nashville; and Athletes in New York. Each of these divisions seems to operate autonomously with no coordination among the three divisions. To date, no one person has had enough free time to spend with this operation to offer the necessary supervision, organization, implementation of ideas and programs, and recruitment and servicing of these notables. Unless this function is created within the Committee, proper utilization of this fantastic resource will not be forthcoming.

Needs:

The three celebrity groups must be properly coordinated so they work as one -- and should report to one person. All three celebrity groups are identifiable voter blocs; all have the same unique characteristics of notariety; and all should be utilized as one support source.

B.S.

I view the entire celebrity operation as a public relations/sales function -- one that should be used to support events with our surrogates, voter blocs, citizens groups, and most importantly, to achieve the proper media coverage with the many celebrities -- all supporting the main objective to re-elect the President. We must re-structure our priorities and get the main job accomplished -- utilizing the best people for the best job. There is absolutely no sense in making another wave to give to our opposition.

Proper direction, plans, policies, main objectives, programs, ideas and specific events must be planned immediately with first priority being the support function to the Republican National Convention. Thousands of TV/radio and newspaper media will be at the Convention and our celebrity resource must be properly staged to take advantage of this media opportunity.

Recommendations:

The management techniques to be employed in the celebrity operation are: 1) responding to the specific needs, and 2) creating new visual opportunities. In Los Angeles, we have a most capable volunteer (full time) in Mrs. Sue Taurog. Mrs. Taurog knows all of the movie industry celebrities personally due to her heavy involvement through the years in working with her prominent director husband, Norman Taurog. Miss Patty Schrage, the secretary in the L. A. office, is also very competent in scheduling, proper implementation, and follow-up with the celebrities and their specific events. I recommended to you that Mr. Crane be transferred back to Universal and that a "working" Executive Committee be set up with such people as Johnny Grant, Mary Ann Mobly, Chad and Shelby Everett, etc. If we can properly implement this Executive Committee, with each person doing his share, the office will "purr". Additional celebrities must be recruited and then serviced.

With Ed Crane now back at Universal Studios, he can be utilized on special projects for the celebrity operation (within his job limitations); special projects for Taft Schreiber; and utilization of Universal facilities as the needs come up within the celebrity operation.

In Nashville, we must establish a new set of guidelines and specific programs with Bill Warner, the Executive Director.

The Athletes for the President operation seems to be in capable hands with Tom Scott. However, priorities, objectives and proper coordination of his efforts must be implemented.

Get the facts first

What was the point? Wrong committee, wrong L.A., Ed Crane

The New York celebrity operation under Ruth Chase needs immediate direction. I strongly suggest that we name an Executive Director to operate as the titular head of the New York celebrity operation. Mr. Dave Brown, who is the husband of Helen Gurley Brown of Cosmopolitan Magazine, would be perfect. With Mr. Brown in this capacity, our New York celebrity resources would be opened up considerably.

All of our celebrity offices should coordinate the scheduling of all events through Ed Cowling in the Surrogates Services Office. Ed has a working relationship with the various celebrity groups, and my recommendation is that Cowling continue to function in this capacity -- scheduling celebrities into already scheduled events.

Ideas and Programs to be Implemented:

(A) Celebrity Briefing Books - Containing specific information on the President's accomplishments, stands on issues, Vietnam briefing, etc.... should be prepared immediately for all of our committed celebrities. Celebrities are used to being scripted and must be given the party line to properly achieve the main purpose of their support function.

(B) Celebrity Schedules - All of our committed celebrities must be contacted immediately for their schedules from July 1st - November 7, 1972, i.e. "How much time can we expect from you working on behalf of the re-election of the President?" This way, we will not be constantly "spinning our wheels" to try to track them down as they travel throughout the U. S. Knowing the specific schedules will allow us the opportunity of properly scheduling -- even if they are doing summer stock in Indianapolis, for example. We must receive a time commitment from our celebrities!

(C) Celebrity Media Plan - Knowing the time commitments and schedules of our celebrities will allow us to implement a celebrity media plan on TV/radio talk shows; rallies; newspaper interviews in various cities throughout the U. S. This will give us a "mass media" approach rather than a rifle shot here and there. In addition, we will be able to be in constant contact at all times -- continuing the party line flow of information.

(D) Celebrity TV Special - We must start immediately to plan for a 90-minute TV special to be viewed on "prime time". Contact should be made with our top Republican producers . . . Ronald Wayne, Jack Philbin and Paul Keyes. This TV special should be scheduled for late October or early November. Objective would be to show celebrity support for the President to swing the last minute undecided voters (Democrats, Independents and youth).

Should be pursued & well done

Who contacts them?

*NY Celebrities
Mrs. Taylor
Mrs. Ruth
Mrs. Brown*

*Done
The
Planning
Not too late
Perkins
Morgan
directly*

great

?

*Receiving
celebrity list
- 200,000
- not 150,000 +
- private*

(M) Republican National Convention - Plans for the utilization of our celebrities at the Convention are already underway as per our previous discussions. However, much additional work must be put forth in this area in order to get the maximum media exposure of our celebrities.

good

(N) Celebrity Charters to Republican Convention - Strongly suggest that we consider chartering an aircraft in Los Angeles and New York and fly our celebrities to the Republican Convention. This is the only way we can be certain they will be in attendance.

good

(O) Campaign Train - Celebrities should be coordinated and properly interspersed on the campaign train as it travels from coast to coast.

What why just a celebrity baseball game.

(P) Celebrities at Los Angeles Airport - Suggest we utilize some of our celebrities to pass out material on the President at L. A. Airport to the thousands of people that pass through on a daily basis. With this properly coordinated, we could achieve press and media coverage almost on a daily basis. This theme can be spread out to include major airports in the U. S.

(Q) After the Campaign - The RNC should set-up a Celebrity Advisory Service after the campaign. The curtain usually drops on all of our celebrities immediately after a Presidential campaign. Suggest we continue to recruit new celebrities, keep our lists up to date, keep them involved and informed with a monthly or quarterly newsletter. We should utilize our celebrities for local candidates, State Central Committees, Federated Womens Groups, White House, Senatorial, Gubernatorial, Congressional campaigns, etc. By setting up this small office we can get our celebrities to work for the Republican Party all year long!

When 1974 comes - We are ready!

When 1976 comes - We are ready!

my

There is no sense to go through lists every two and four years to try and recruit celebrities. This should be a sustained effort with a volunteer part time. When the curtain drops after a campaign, we lose many of our strong committed celebrities. It is my honest opinion that constant contact with our many celebrities will add a bit of additional "flair" and "glamour" to the White House.

Programs Completed/Working

Since my involvement with the celebrity operation the following events have been completed and/or working:

1. Taft Schreiber party
2. Ed Crane moved to Universal
3. Los Angeles office re-organized
4. Los Angeles Executive Committee organization underway
5. Updated list of celebrities as of 6/23/72
6. Celebrity recruitment underway
7. Update of celebrity files, i.e. biographies and pictures
8. Eight additional celebrities recruited
9. Convention plans underway

Conclusion:

The responsibility of the celebrity operation should be the prime activity of one man at the Committee. He should provide the management guidelines and supervise the entire celebrity operation. He should provide the proper PR guidance and serve as an idea man for innovative events utilizing the celebrities to the best advantages of all concerned.

As I have stated privately, Bart, and now formally -- I am ready, willing and able to take on this function, and honestly feel that I could do the best job for the Committee and for the President. It's an area with which I feel extremely capable and comfortable, due to my previous experience and exposure to the industry. I have the support and confidence of Taft Schreiber and Dick Zanuck, who are real "keys" to the entire operation. I firmly believe that I could very easily take on this new responsibility, as well as being "PR Swing Man" for Cliff Miller's operation. I would strongly suggest that we move the celebrity function under the direction of Cliff Miller with me implementing, supervising and providing the ideas, etc. Anything, if properly organized, and given the proper objectives and ideas, directed by someone with management ability, can work well.

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

July 7, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

PATRICK BUCHANAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

Bob asked me to forward the attached exchange of letters between the National Association of Retail Grocers and George McGovern. I trust you will keep it in your McGovern file for appropriate use.

GS/jb

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 6/30

TO: H.R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

This will be forwarded to
Buchanan for appropriate
future use.



THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
WASHINGTON 20220

June 29, 1972

MEMORANDUM TO: The Honorable H. R. Haldeman

You may be interested in the attached
exchange of correspondence.

George P. Shultz

Enclosures

HENRIAN E. TALMADGE, GA., CHAIRMAN
ALLEN J. BELLEDER, LA.
JAMES O. EASTLAND, MISS.
B. EVERETT JORDAN, N.C.
GEORGE MCGOVERN, S. DAK.
JAMES B. ALLEN, ALA.
ROBERT H. HUMPHREY, MINN.
LAWTON CHILES, FLA.
JACK MILLER, IOWA
GEORGE D. AIKEN, VT.
MILTON R. YOUNG, N. DAK.
CARL T. CURTIS, NEBR.
ROBERT DOLE, KANS.
HENRY BELLMON, OKLA.

DOTY M. MOUSER, CHIEF CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON
AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

June 1, 1972

Dear Mr. Register:

Thank you very much for your recent letter.

You should know, Mr. Register, that I have competent legal advice and you need not worry about me on that score.

Your reference to innocent third parties was intriguing to say the least. If you are suggesting that retail grocers are under any definition of the term "innocent," I would be surprised. It may interest you to know that I am fully aware of the monopoly meat and other commodity pricing practices of the chain stores. I am also aware of rate of return on your investment.

You may be sure, Mr. Register, that when I am President suits will no longer be brought by stockmen, egg producers and others, but by the Attorney General of the United States.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely,



George McGovern

Frank D. Register
Executive Director
National Association of Retail
Grocers of the U. S., Inc.
Suite 620
2000 Spring Road
Oak Brook, Illinois 60521

NARGUS

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF RETAIL GROCERS OF THE U.S., INC.
Suite 620, 2000 Spring Road, Oak Brook, Illinois 60521
Phone (312) 654-1955 • Frank D. Register, Executive Director

COPY

May 22, 1972

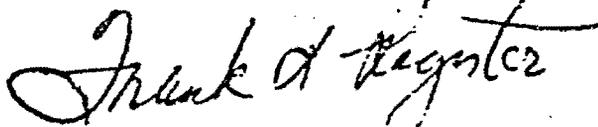
Senator George McGovern
United States Senator from South Dakota
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Senator McGovern:

In yesterday's news telecasts, you were shown endorsing Caesar Chavez and the lettuce boycotts.

I would suggest that you consider this position carefully from a number of standpoints. Under existing law, such boycotts are clearly illegal. Secondly, the pattern established in the grape boycotts was one of damage and destruction to innocent third parties--in this instance, retailers who have no way of knowing who is right in a labor dispute many miles away. Thirdly, such tactics, if successful, result in increased costs which mean increased prices, a subject which I know is of concern to you.

Sincerely,



Frank D. Register
Executive Director

.FDR/cms

Washington Office: 201 Commonwealth Building, 1625 K Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20006 • Phone: (202) 347-9868
Bryson, Jr., General Counsel

Illinois Office: 7237-39 West Lake Street, River Forest, Illinois 60305 • Phone: (312) 366-1733

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

July 1, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

PAT BUCHANAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

You probably noticed Clayton Fritchey's column this morning entitled "The Company McGovern Keeps". All the "radical" positions of McGovern are described as being in the best traditions of American politics. The problems with his economic arithmetic is compared with the budget deficits of Johnson and the President. On post-war amnesty, he is placed among Abe Lincoln, Andrew Johnson and Calvin Coolidge. In addition, Fritchey argues that 70% of the American people agree with McGovern. If this were not enough, his defense programs are described as being in concert with Eisenhower's and that Nixon is the one moving away from the Eisenhower tradition.

This tactic to portray McGovern is remarkably reasonable because of his "association" with other great leaders of the country strikes me as remarkably effective for McGovern to use throughout the campaign.

GS/jb

PRESERVATION COPY



Clayton Fritchey

The Company McGovern Keeps

IS SEN. McGOVERN a wild-eyed radical, a doe-eyed radical or just a radical-conservative, which is to say, someone who, like Franklin Roosevelt, would go to almost any extreme to save the capitalist system? Or, is he no radical at all? Perhaps the best answer is to judge him by the company he keeps.

Take his economics. The critics say his "arithmetical" doesn't add up. Even after allowing for his proposed defense savings and elimination of tax loopholes, it is said that his program would produce a large budget deficit, maybe as high as \$20 billion a year or more. This may or may not be true, but, assuming for the sake of argument that it is, where does that leave McGovern?

It leaves him in the company of Richard Nixon and Lyndon Johnson. The latter went out of office with what was then a record peacetime deficit, \$25 billion in one year. However, in the light of President Nixon's performance, this is now considered conservative. Some say Mr. Nixon is on his way to achieving a record deficit of \$90 billion to \$100 billion for his first term. Sen. McGovern's estimates may leave something to be de-

sired, but they could hardly be further off than Mr. Nixon's.

ON THE SUBJECT of postwar amnesty for draft resisters, the senator from South Dakota also finds himself in league with other Presidents, such as Lincoln, Andrew Johnson and Calvin Coolidge, all of whom granted amnesty after the shooting stopped.

McGovern's stand, however, falls short of that of the late Cardinal Cushing's, who urged that "we empty our jails of all the protesters — the guilty and the innocent—without judging them; call back from over the border and around the world the young men who are called 'deserters'; drop the cases that are still awaiting judgment on our college youths." The Gallup Poll reports that 70 per cent of Americans "support some form of amnesty" for Vietnam draft dodgers. Does that mean the whole country is "radical"?

On three of the most important issues of the year, McGovern finds himself aligned with former President Eisenhower in opposition to the latter's protege, Richard Nixon. The probable Democratic nominee is

against our troops being in Indochina, he wants to reduce U.S. forces in Europe and he is determined to curb military spending.

These may be "far-out" positions in the eyes of Mr. Nixon and others, but they are precisely the positions Eisenhower took when he was President. In fact, in 1954, Ike did not hesitate to publicly overrule his own Vice President (Nixon) when the latter supported U.S. armed intervention in Indochina, of which Vietnam was then a part.

Eisenhower thought it was foolhardy for the United States to engage in a land war in Asia. Moreover, he said, he "would never agree to send our ground troops . . . without congressional action." And he didn't.

Finally, who are the radicals McGovern is keeping company with on the question of a more humane approach to abortion? Answer: The Rockefeller brothers. John D. Rockefeller III is chairman of the President's Commission on Population Growth and the American Future, which recently urged the liberalization of state abortion laws to make the termination of pregnancy a private matter between a woman and her doc-

tor. His brother, Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, only a few weeks ago, vetoed an effort to repeal New York's reformed abortion statute, which is becoming a model for other states.

THE SENATOR, who has virtually been called a traitor for his defense policies, thinks our European allies should start carrying their fair share of the NATO burden, so that U.S. forces can be reduced to two divisions in Europe. Again, his thinking was shaped by Eisenhower who 10 years ago said, "One American division in Europe can show the Flag as definitely as can several."

The McGovern critics say, "Wait till the public hears about his position on marijuana." Well, his position is the same as President Nixon's Commission on Marijuana and Drug Abuse. The commission is headed by a Nixon appointee, Raymond Shafer, the former Republican governor of Pennsylvania. Like McGovern, it recommends "decriminalizing the mere possession and private use of 'pot,'" a stand that even the American Medical Association has now embraced.

© 1972, Los Angeles Times

Clayton Fritchey

The Company McGovern Keeps

McGOVERN a radical-con... which is to say, like Franklin... go to al... system? Or, is... all? Perhaps... is to judge... company he...
 economics. The... "arithmetic"... up. Even after... his proposed... and elimin... loopholes. It is... program would... large budget def... as high as \$20 bil... or more. This... not be true, but... the sake of ar... it is, where... McGovern?
 in the com... Nixon and... The latter... with what... pesoetime... in one... the light... Nixon's per...

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Eisenhower thought it was foolish for the United States to engage in a land war in Asia. Moreover, he said he would never agree to send our armed troops without congressional action.

Frankly, who are the radicals McGovern is pressing company with on the question of a more humane approach to abortion? Answer: The Rockefeller brothers. John D. Rockefeller III is chairman of the President's Council on the Status of Women.

tor. His brother, Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, only a few weeks ago, vetoed an effort to repeal New York's reformed abortion statute, which is becoming a model for other states.

THE SENATOR who has virtually been named a traitor for his desertion, thinks our European allies should start paying a fair share of the debt so that they be reduced to rubble in Europe. Aiding was what Eisenhower was talking about when he said "One American in Europe is a definite asset."

The McGovern "Wait till we shoot him down" was the same man's Commission on Assassinations. When the ex-governor was in the...

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

July 28, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DWIGHT CHAPIN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Wave II Campaign Surveys

Bob asked me to give this polling material for use by you and Parker in schedule planning. You should also know that Teeter has been asked to prepare recommendations based on his subjective political judgment of the best hypothetical schedules for the President, Vice President and First Family.

GS/bj

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

July 27, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN **G**

SUBJECT:

Wave II Campaign Surveys -
Teeter Materials for Chapin

Bob Teeter discussed schedule opportunities based on the Wave II results with Chapin, Parker, and Walker on July 25. He did not give any specific trial heat or other figures to this group.

Teeter prepared the attached summary material for Chapin/Parker, but will not give them the materials without your express approval. The materials describe the importance of each of the issues within the state by media markets.

The ratings (A, B, C, D, E) by state and media market reflect the President's comparative polling strength against McGovern in certain media markets.

These Teeter materials coupled with demographic maps showing areas of high ticket splitter locations in the key states will show Chapin/Parker which issues are of most concern to voters within the states.

Recommendation:

That Chapin/Parker receive copies of the attached materials.

Approve HL Disapprove _____ Comments _____

Read next page

In addition, Bob Teeter should prepare a memorandum, based on his analysis of the polling data, which describes his subjective, political judgement of the best areas within the states for particular issues. This would include Teeter's recommendations for ideal, hypothetical schedules for the President and First Family. Also included would be Teeter's views on the relative advantages of moving a particular locale from a "D" to a "C" as distinguished from moving an area like San Diego from a "B" to an "A".

~~Bob~~
+ Vice President +

agree L.

H

MEMORANDUM

July 25, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: DWIGHT L. CHAPIN
THROUGH: GORDON C. STRACHAN
FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER *RM*
SUBJECT: Issue and Appearances Data
From Second Wave Polling

Attached are tables summarizing our relative strength, the importance of various issues and the President's rating on his handling of those issues in the states we surveyed in Wave II.

Each state has been given a rating of A thru E with A meaning the President is in excellent shape in that state, B meaning we are in moderately good shape, C that the state is very close, D that we are in fairly poor shape and E that we are in quite bad shape in that state. In addition each media market has been given a rating using the same scale.

The figures under the column designated Imp. (importance) are the percentage of voters in that state or media market which ranked that particular issue in the top three in terms of importance in deciding Presidential vote.

The second figures under the column designated RN are the percentage of voters who give the President a positive rating on his handling of that issue (top figure) and the percentage of the voters who rated him negatively (bottom figure).

That is, in the Mobile/Meridian area of Alabama the President is in excellent shape (A rating), 54% of the voters rank Vietnam as one of the top three issues in terms of its importance in the Presidential election, 74% rate the President positively in terms of his handling of the Vietnam issue and 23% rate him negatively.

A statewide total column is included for each state and a summary sheet comparing each state to our national data is included.

The circled issues on the following pages are those issues which are of significantly greater concern to the voters of a specific area than they are to that state overall.

Using the ticket-splitter data we have available and the attached information my recommendation for the priority areas to visit and suggested issues for each of these visits within each of the states are listed below.

You should remember, however, that Vietnam is, by far, the number one issue in all of these states and in all of the regions within the states. For that reason we have included it only when it is significantly more important to a local area than it is overall. Had we included it, Vietnam would have been the top priority issue in all areas of all states. Furthermore this data does not address itself to the fact that an appearance by the President is a national event and the list of issues used to formulate this data did not include anything which would give emphasis to a visit which stressed a general campaign theme or "mood of the country" speech.

State Priorities

Top Priority

California
New York
Pennsylvania
New Jersey
Illinois

Second Priority

Ohio
Michigan
Connecticut
Maryland
Texas

Third Priority

Washington
Oregon
Missouri
Wisconsin

This data used in conjunction with the ticket-splitting maps we went over this morning should be of assistance to you in scheduling the President and the First Family. If you have any further questions, please let me know.

Alabama: Drugs
 Crime
 Taxes

 Mobile: Crime
 Bussing

California: Unemployment
 Taxes
 Inflation

 Los Angeles: Unemployment
 Inflation
 Taxes

 San Diego: Crime
 National Defense

 Sacramento/
 Stockton: Unemployment
 Drugs

 San Francisco:
 Vietnam
 Environment

Connecticut: Inflation
 Unemployment
 Taxes

 Hartford: Crime
 Inflation

 Fairfield
 Co.: Drugs
 Crime

Illinois: Inflation
 Drugs

 Chicago: Taxes
 Inflation

 Rockford/
 Davenport: Inflation

Illinois continued:

Outstate Areas:

Taxes
Inflation

NOTE: While there is no particular concern of population we need some effort in the outstate areas and a tour of them by someone would be useful.

New Jersey:

Taxes
Unemployment
Inflation

Northern

New Jersey: Taxes
Inflation

Ohio:

Unemployment
Inflation
Drugs

Cleveland:

Unemployment
Inflation
Taxes

Cincinnati:

Inflation
Drugs
General Unrest

Toledo:

Crime
Environment

Oregon:

Taxes
Inflation
Environment

Portland:

Taxes
Inflation
Environment

Pennsylvania:

Taxes
Drugs

Pittsburgh:

Taxes
Environment
Unemployment
Drugs

Philadelphia:

Unemployment
Taxes

Maryland: Crime
Drugs
Inflation

Baltimore
Co.: Drugs
Crime

Washington
Suburbs
(Mainly
Montgomery
Co.): Inflation
Crime
Environment

Michigan: Taxes
Unemployment
Drugs
Bussing

Detroit
Suburbs: Bussing
Taxes
Crime
General Unrest

Flint: Taxes
Crime
Unemployment
Race

Grand Rapids: Unemployment
Inflation
Drugs
Bussing

Missouri: Unemployment
Taxes
Inflation

St. Louis: Unemployment
Crime
Inflation

Kansas City: Inflation
Taxes

<u>Texas:</u>	Drugs Inflation Taxes
Houston:	Drugs Inflation
Dallas:	Drugs Crime Taxes
Austin:	Environment Bussing Crime
<u>Wisconsin:</u>	Taxes Inflation Unemployment
Milwaukee & S.E.:	Taxes Inflation Unemployment

NATIONAL STUDY RATING: A

	National*		Ala.		Calif.		Conn.		Illinois		Maryland		Michigan		Missouri		N. J.		Ohio		Oregon		Pa.		Texas**		Wisconsin	
	Imp.	KN	Imp.	KN	Imp.	KN	Imp.	KN	Imp.	KN	Imp.	KN	Imp.	KN	Imp.	KN	Imp.	KN	Imp.	KN	Imp.	KN	Imp.	KN	Imp.	KN	Imp.	KN
Vietnam	65 30	50 22	76 54	60 39	57 35	64 35	60 35	63 35	51 32	67 32	53 42	56 42	54 37	62 37	58 41	56 41	67 32	49 39	57 39	60 39	59 39	51 32	67 32	63 32	55 39	63 32	55 39	
Inflation	47 46	24 41	56 41	28 53	43 33	41 56	31 56	47 52	32 51	48 51	25 30	43 53	30 53	45 31	45 59	31 59	47 52	31 ^W 56	40 56	29 52	47 52	23 46	53 46	32 46	49 51	49 51		
Drugs	53 36	20 28	68 28	53 43	25 42	51 42	27 42	56 42	33 40	57 40	27 43	54 43	24 38	58 38	29 44	47 44	52 44	27 41	53 41	34 43	55 43	34 43	61 37	16 34	63 34			
Criese	56 36	21 35	62 20	53 43	24 47	48 47	25 45	52 45	37 48	50 48	25 45	45 52	30 47	51 47	20 52	43 52	27 48	50 46	49 46	24 49	50 49	25 45	53 45	16 42	56 42			
Unemployment	50 43	19 33	63 30	45 52	33 53	42 53	28 49	49 49	21 45	54 45	31 45	45 52	34 49	49 49	32 57	39 57	35 51	47 50	23 50	45 50	31 52	47 52	23 44	53 44	30 47	47 51		
Taxes	46 48	26 44	54 29	44 53	25 51	44 51	34 51	48 49	28 49	48 49	34 57	42 57	32 45	53 33	36 59	26 49	50 39	39 57	36 54	44 54	27 42	37 42	46 42	42 46	42 46			
Race	60 31	23 36	60 36	13 38	59 38	16 38	57 38	21 44	54 44	17 36	62 36	21 44	53 44	16 37	60 44	16 37	51 44	14 39	59 33	10 33	61 33	16 42	58 39	13 39	59 39	11 30	69 30	
Foreign Policy	81 11	11 13	81 18	78 20	17 15	79 15	16 21	78 21	10 17	81 17	9 17	80 17	13 17	80 17	13 20	74 20	14 16	82 13	72 23	11 15	83 15	13 18	80 18	16 13	86 13			
Environment	60 40	18 26	70 26	21 46	51 46	18 36	58 42	16 42	56 37	17 37	13 37	63 33	13 33	64 33	15 43	50 43	13 38	59 17	64 31	15 38	60 38	12 41	59 39	16 36	65 36			
General Unrest	57 33	9 30	65 15	48 59	12 41	53 41	11 47	52 47	9 30	60 47	19 41	57 41	13 39	58 39	11 49	43 42	35 42	14 46	48 45	11 45	53 45	13 41	57 41	11 39	60 39			
Welfare	52 39	13 22	65 22	13 44	53 44	13 46	47 46	9 41	55 41	12 42	14 47	50 47	15 41	57 41	15 52	42 52	13 44	34 44	15 50	45 44	11 44	55 44	12 42	55 42	17 49			
Health Care	69 21	8 16	80 16	10 32	63 28	7 28	64 30	9 30	68 30	9 29	68 29	8 29	69 28	9 27	70 33	9 33	60 30	8 30	67 32	10 32	62 32	9 26	72 26	10 27	70 27	7 24	74 24	
Nat'l. Defense	73 18	16 13	82 22	74 23	16 19	75 19	13 21	77 21	13 17	80 17	8 17	80 16	13 16	80 14	14 23	70 23	13 17	80 14	73 21	13 17	81 17	20 19	78 19	16 14	85 14			
Bussing	46 40	17 53	43 53	4 42	52 38	3 38	50 48	4 48	49 48	7 40	56 40	19 51	46 51	6 45	51 41	4 41	48 44	4 44	52 42	2 42	47 42	4 42	54 50	10 50	47 50	4 35	60 35	

* June 16-26, 1972; 1,016 Interviews

** Because the National study was conducted by phone the scales are slightly different than the states. No questions ranking the issues by importance were asked.

June 13-26, 1972
804 Interviews

OVERALL RATING: A

ALABAMA

	A Mobile/ Meridian		A Montgomery		A Dothan		A Columbus, Ga.		A Huntsville/ Chattanooga		A Birmingham		A Total	
	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN
Vietnam	54	74 23	48	75 22	55	53 38	44	77 21	49	75 22	50	81 19	50	76 22
Inflation	27	50 48	14	62 32	22	47 43	27	58 38	24	55 42	26	58 41	24	56 41
Drugs	34	59 36	35	78 18	41	70 23	46	71 27	44	62 35	41	70 26	39	68 25
Crime	43	51 47	34	67 30	32	53 40	36	56 42	24	56 41	29	69 28	31	62 35
Unemployment	20	59 38	14	63 33	13	51 43	23	69 29	24	57 39	18	68 28	19	63 33
Taxes	16	41 55	33	63 33	30	49 45	20	50 48	18	60 38	28	55 44	26	54 44
Race	30	45 52	26	60 32	33	49 40	23	58 40	13	62 34	22	66 31	23	60 36
Foreign Policy	5	74 23	5	84 8	7	68 13	14	77 17	16	84 9	11	85 13	11	81 13
Environment	4	66 30	10	72 22	4	70 17	16	63 33	11	71 26	12	70 25	10	70 26
General Unrest	7	55 40	12	68 23	8	60 32	8	65 31	12	66 29	9	68 29	9	65 30
Welfare	11	58 38	16	73 23	8	47 45	10	60 35	15	64 33	12	68 29	13	65 32
Health Care	7	80 15	11	80 14	4	62 30	8	73 23	8	84 14	11	82 15	8	80 16
Nat'l. Defense	11	77 19	10	80 13	17	77 11	10	83 10	20	80 15	16	87 9	16	82 13
Bussing	28	27 71	14	59 37	10	36 57	12	31 67	17	41 55	15	48 47	17	43 53

ISSUES:

Vietnam
Drugs
Crime
Taxes
Inflation

ADI SPECIAL EMPHASIS ISSUES

Mobile/Meridian: Crime
Race
Bussing

Montgomery: Taxes

Dothan: Vietnam
Race

Columbus, Ga.: Drugs
Crime
Environment

Huntsville/
Chattanooga: Drugs
Crime
Foreign Policy

OVERALL RATING: B

CALIFORNIA

June 12-17, 1972
1,000 Interviews

	B San Diego		A Los Angeles		A Santa Barb/ Santa Maria		A Salinas/Monterey		A Fresno		D San Francisco		E Chico/Redding		D Sacramento/ Stockton		B Total	
	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN
Vietnam	58	53 47	52	64 35	42	70 30	57	67 33	54	70 30	61	49 49	54	50 44	55	61 38	54	60 39
Inflation	18	55 42	30	47 51	30	52 42	27	58 42	24	45 48	25	36 62	27	32 62	18	45 53	28	45 53
Drugs	23	63 34	20	54 42	24	70 30	30	55 39	24	33 55	15	46 48	27	38 53	26	59 36	20	53 43
Crime	33	58 38	18	57 40	21	45 52	18	42 45	24	45 45	17	47 47	15	44 47	23	52 45	20	53 43
Unemployment	18	56 42	29	47 50	36	45 55	30	45 52	18	55 45	29	39 58	54	32 59	47	42 56	30	45 52
Taxes	27	47 52	28	46 51	33	58 39	36	42 52	18	48 48	30	39 57	12	35 56	32	39 58	29	44 53
Race	10	61 38	11	62 36	12	64 36	12	61 36	15	70 24	14	51 44	30	62 32	16	55 42	13	59 38
Foreign Policy	14	81 19	20	79 20	27	91 9	15	85 15	12	88 9	15	71 25	15	68 24	17	79 17	18	78 20
Environment	14	53 42	23	48 49	15	61 39	21	67 27	15	70 30	25	50 46	12	56 38	14	55 42	21	51 46
General Unrest	19	34 63	15	52 44	12	52 45	12	45 48	9	67 30	17	41 56	9	35 56	14	50 47	15	48 49
Welfare	16	59 39	14	53 43	15	67 33	18	58 36	15	61 39	8	51 46	12	32 59	8	48 50	13	53 44
Health Care	13	66 33	10	66 29	0	70 27	3	73 27	21	64 33	11	58 37	12	50 38	13	61 38	10	63 32
Nat'l. Defense	32	70 28	20	76 22	30	76 24	18	88 9	27	79 18	21	70 27	15	56 38	14	80 18	22	74 23
Bussing	5	47 48	3	54 41	0	52 42	0	70 21	3	48 42	4	46 47	3	38 47	8	59 38	4	52 42

ISSUES:

Vietnam
Unemployment
Taxes
Inflation
National Defense

ADI SPECIAL EMPHASIS ISSUES

San Diego: Crime
National Defense

Santa Barbara/
Santa Marin: Unemployment
National Defense
Foreign Policy

Salinas/
Monterey: Taxes
Drugs
Welfare

San Francisco: Vietnam

Chico/Redding: Unemployment
Race
Crime

Sacramento/
Stockton: Unemployment
Drugs

OVERALL RATING: A

CONNECTICUT

June 11-20, 1972
615 Interviews

	A New York		A Hartford		A Providence		A Total	
	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN
Vietnam	54	73 27	60	60 40	48	75 21	57	64 35
Inflation	25	45 52	36	39 60	32	52 45	33	41 56
Drugs	30	55 38	24	49 46	17	52 34	25	51 42
Crime	30	55 41	31	44 51	20	54 38	24	48 47
Unemployment	26	45 49	34	40 57	32	50 38	33	42 53
Taxes	27	48 46	25	42 55	27	52 38	25	44 51
Race	12	57 36	18	57 39	11	59 34	16	57 38
Foreign Policy	20	85 8	16	77 18	20	75 11	17	79 15
Environment	14	61 32	20	58 37	20	52 34	18	58 36
General Unrest	13	59 33	9	50 46	18	57 29	12	53 41
Welfare	14	48 46	11	46 48	11	52 38	13	47 46
Health Care	8	66 24	6	65 30	6	54 32	7	64 28
Nat'l. Defense	17	80 13	14	72 22	23	79 11	16	75 19
Bussing	5	50 39	3	51 38	5	45 39	3	50 38

ISSUES:

Vietnam
Inflation
Unemployment
Drugs
Taxes

ADI SPECIAL EMPHASIS ISSUES

New York: Drugs
Hartford: Crime
Providence: National Defense
General Unrest

OVERALL RATING: A

ILLINOIS

June 13-23, 1972
800 Interviews

	A Rockford/ Davenport		D St. Louis		A Paducah/ Springfield		A Chicago		A Total	
	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN
Vietnam	65	72 -26	63	56 40	51	74 24	59	59 39	60	63 35
Inflation	40	63 36	23	31 67	28	57 41	31	44 55	31	47 52
Drugs	20	69 26	30	54 41	38	64 33	26	52 47	27	56 42
Crime	23	63 35	29	47 51	20	59 35	24	50 49	25	52 45
Unemployment	25	72 28	35	39 60	24	60 38	29	44 54	28	49 49
Taxes	36	64 36	24	44 53	41	61 37	32	42 57	34	48 51
Race	13	74 26	29	49 50	19	62 35	21	50 48	21	54 44
Foreign Policy	24	90 10	10	67 31	13	84 11	16	75 24	16	78 21
Environment	14	79 21	14	54 44	11	70 26	16	49 49	16	56 42
General Unrest	13	67 33	15	43 53	15	64 33	10	48 51	11	52 47
Welfare	4	78 21	13	46 50	12	66 28	8	53 46	9	52 41
Health Care	6	83 15	3	54 40	6	81 15	10	64 35	9	68 30
Nat'l Defense	15	90 8	7	73 26	17	87 10	11	73 25	13	77 21
Bussing	3	54 40	5	37 57	4	53 43	3	49 49	4	49 48

ISSUES:

Vietnam
Taxes
Inflation
Unemployment
Drugs

ADI SPECIAL EMPHASIS ISSUES

Rockford/Davenport: Vietnam
Inflation
Foreign Policy

St. Louis: Unemployment
Race

Paducah/Springfield: Taxes
Drugs

OVERALL RATING: B

MARYLAND

June 13-23, 1972
600 Interviews

	B Baltimore		A Salisbury		A Washington		B Total	
	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN
Vietnam	47	66 33	58	58 42	55	70 29	51	67 32
Inflation	25	49 50	16	67 33	45	44 54	32	48 51
Drugs	40	52 45	50	74 26	22	62 34	33	57 40
Crime	40	44 55	16	53 47	36	61 37	37	50 48
Unemployment	22	53 46	12	75 20	19	52 46	21	54 45
Taxes	28	45 54	20	54 46	28	53 44	28	48 49
Race	21	60 30	20	75 25	14	63 34	17	62 36
Foreign Policy	11	77 19	12	83 17	11	86 12	10	81 17
Environment	14	60 36	12	92 8	24	55 43	17	60 37
General Unrest	9	59 30	8	67 29	10	62 35	9	60 37
Welfare	15	54 44	20	58 38	8	57 40	12	55 42
Health Care	10	70 27	12	75 25	7	65 31	9	68 29
National Defense	11	76 20	16	83 13	15	85 12	13	80 17
Bussing	7	58 39	16	62 38	7	53 43	7	56 40

ISSUES:

Vietnam
Crime
Drugs
Inflation
Taxes

ADI SPECIAL EMPHASIS ISSUES

Baltimore:

Drugs

Salisbury:

Vietnam
Drugs
Welfare
Bussing

Washington:

Inflation
Environment

OVERALL RATING: C

MICHIGAN

June 13-30, 1972
800 Interviews

	D Detroit		A Lansing		B Flint-Sag. Bay City		B Grand Rapids Kala./Chicago		C Traverse City		A Marquette Green Bay		C Total	
	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN
Vietnam	52	53 46	50	59 38	60	58 37	48	65 34	68	51 43	74	67 33	53	56 42
Inflation	24	41 58	43	50 50	17	55 41	26	50 48	27	27 68	33	41 29	25	43 55
Drugs	30	49 49	19	74 26	19	53 41	26	61 33	25	59 35	10	74 26	27	54 43
Crime	27	44 54	29	48 52	29	42 54	23	48 48	6	43 51	20	52 48	25	45 52
Unemployment	33	41 57	22	58 42	26	53 41	28	53 45	41	27 65	33	63 33	31	45 52
Taxes	34	39 60	45	53 47	43	43 54	23	47 52	44	41 54	24	52 48	34	42 57
Race	21	50 47	31	58 42	23	61 34	19	55 40	7	46 49	10	67 30	21	53 44
Foreign Policy	9	80 19	6	91 9	7	82 11	8	77 17	11	70 24	17	89 11	9	80 17
Environment	11	63 34	6	75 25	17	56 39	20	68 28	7	59 35	21	44 44	13	63 33
General Unrest	23	56 43	6	73 27	13	55 42	18	59 37	7	41 51	3	70 26	19	57 41
Welfare	10	47 50	23	76 24	6	51 44	23	53 42	22	38 54	10	63 37	14	50 47
Health Care	9	65 18	0	72 16	9	77 16	7	77 19	5	70 22	0	85 15	8	69 28
Nat'l Defense	7	80 18	0	84 16	7	77 18	13	85 11	4	68 24	7	89 11	8	80 17
Bussing	23	43 55	6	66 31	13	45 47	18	53 42	7	43 51	3	49 56	19	46 51

ISSUES:

Vietnam
Taxes
Unemployment
Drugs
Inflation
Crime

ADI SPECIAL EMPHASIS ISSUES

Lansing:

Taxes
Inflation
Race
Welfare

Flint-Saginaw-Bay City:

Vietnam
Taxes

Grand Rapids-Kalamazoo/
Chicago:

Welfare
Environment
National Defense

Traverse City:

Vietnam
Taxes
Unemployment
Welfare

Marquette-Green Bay:

Vietnam
Inflation
Environment
Foreign Policy

OVERALL RATING: E

MISSOURI

June 13-24, 1972
800 Interviews

	E St. Louis		C Paducah/ Springfield		A Columbia/ Quincy		D St. Joseph/ Kansas City		E Total	
	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN
Vietnam	55	56 44	56	64 32	51	70 28	50	64 34	54	62 37
Inflation	29	40 59	27	47 49	29	57 42	33	44 54	30	45 53
Drugs	22	58 39	26	57 35	32	54 40	23	59 38	24	58 38
Crime	35	47 52	25	52 43	22	52 48	29	56 43	30	51 47
Unemployment	41	39 60	30	55 43	26	59 39	31	55 44	34	49 49
Taxes	22	50 49	46	51 46	32	62 34	33	55 44	32	53 45
Race	20	50 49	12	64 30	13	68 30	16	68 30	16	60 37
Foreign Policy	13	79 20	10	74 21	17	87 12	12	84 11	13	80 17
Environment	12	58 40	7	69 27	15	68 31	15	67 30	13	64 33
General Unrest	12	52 46	16	61 35	14	68 32	13	59 38	13	58 39
Welfare	14	54 46	17	56 40	16	68 32	12	57 42	15	57 41
Health Care	8	64 33	7	70 24	16	77 21	12	76 22	9	70 27
Nat'l. Defense	12	85 13	10	72 22	17	86 13	16	78 18	13	80 16
Bussing	7	47 50	9	50 43	2	58 37	4	55 41	6	51 45

Paducah/Springfield also includes Spring./Paducah-Cape Girardeau-
Harrisburg/Joplin-Pittsburg/Memphis

ISSUES:

Vietnam
Unemployment
Taxes
Inflation
Crime

ADI SPECIAL EMPHASIS ISSUES

St. Louis:

Unemployment
Crime

Paducah/Springfield/
Harrisburg/Joplin/Memphis:

Taxes

Columbia/Quincy:

Drugs
Health Care

OVERALL RATING: B

NEW JERSEY

June 11-20, 1972
823 Interviews

	C Philadelphia		B New York City		B Total	
	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN
Vietnam	60	56 40	58	56 41	58	56 41
Inflation	27	42 50	33	35 62	31	37 59
Drugs	24	47 42	31	47 44	29	47 44
Crime	18	46 46	21	42 54	20	43 52
Unemployment	33	43 52	32	37 58	32	39 57
Taxes	33	36 57	35	36 59	33	36 59
Race	15	51 43	16	51 45	16	51 44
Foreign Policy	12	72 23	12	75 19	13	74 20
Environment	13	54 38	14	49 45	15	50 43
General Unrest	13	40 50	10	44 49	11	43 49
Welfare	15	48 46	14	40 54	15	42 52
Health Care	12	57 35	7	62 32	9	60 33
Nat'l. Defense	16	67 25	13	71 22	14	70 23
Bussing	3	45 43	4	49 40	4	48 41

ISSUES:

- Vietnam
- Taxes
- Unemployment
- Inflation
- Drugs

OVERALL RATING: A

OHIO-

June 13-27, 1972
800 Interviews

	A Toledo/Lima		A Dayton		A Cincinnati		A Columbus Parkersburg		B Cleveland Akron Canton		A Youngstown/ Pittsburgh		A Total	
	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN
Vietnam	49	75 24	61	60 39	58	69 31	57	72 27	53	63 36	67	70 28	56	67 32
Inflation	25	59 40	42	44 56	38	50 50	29	57 42	33	38 60	33	45 53	32	47 52
Drugs	31	58 38	32	53 48	29	50 48	30	58 39	24	50 45	51	48 44	29	52 44
Crime	32	51 45	21	48 50	26	55 45	29	53 44	27	46 51	25	50 47	27	50 48
Unemployment	21	54 43	45	44 56	37	51 48	31	61 38	37	37 61	31	55 42	35	47 51
Taxes	25	61 39	18	55 44	21	52 48	31	60 37	29	41 57	24	41 55	26	50 49
Race	17	65 35	16	61 39	13	65 34	14	65 33	14	54 44	17	48 48	14	59 39
Foreign Policy	15	80 14	16	88 13	15	90 10	13	81 17	15	80 16	13	70 27	14	82 16
Environment	24	70 28	11	68 33	10	66 32	11	59 37	14	51 44	8	56 38	13	59 38
General Unrest	13	69 31	11	50 49	19	63 35	13	57 36	14	49 47	7	55 44	13	55 42
Welfare	15	51 48	13	55 44	9	57 43	18	55 44	13	52 44	12	53 44	13	54 44
Health Care	10	69 28	4	69 28	6	77 21	4	64 31	10	67 32	8	55 42	8	67 30
National Defense	19	85 13	9	79 20	13	83 17	15	77 19	14	80 17	12	83 14	13	80 17
Bussing	6	55 43	4	48 51	4	62 37	1	50 44	3	50 45	5	53 44	4	52 44

ISSUES:

Vietnam
Unemployment
Inflation
Drugs
Crime

ADI SPECIAL EMPHASIS ISSUES

Toledo/Lima:

Crime
Environment
National Defense

Dayton:

Vietnam
Unemployment
Inflation

Cincinnati:

Inflation
General Unrest

Columbus/Parkersburg:

Taxes
Welfare

Youngstown/Pittsburgh:

Vietnam
Drugs

	E Eugene		D Portland		C Total	
	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN
Vietnam	60	52 48	50	56 39	49	57 39
Inflation	30	38 63	30	41 53	31	40 56
Drugs	20	50 46	28	52 40	27	53 41
Crime	18	50 45	25	48 46	24	49 46
Unemployment	17	49 49	24	44 50	23	45 50
Taxes	50	39 58	32	39 56	39	39 57
Race	7	55 43	10	61 31	10	61 33
Foreign Policy	12	69 28	13	72 21	13	72 23
Environment	24	57 41	16	62 31	17	64 31
General Unrest	12	50 48	15	46 47	14	48 46
Welfare	16	43 57	13	45 48	15	45 50
Health Care	8	66 30	10	58 35	10	62 32
Nat'l Defense	12	74 23	15	71 21	14	73 21
Bussing	2	49 40	2	45 43	2	47 42

ISSUES:

Vietnam
Taxes
Inflation
Drugs
Crime

ADI SPECIAL EMPHASIS ISSUES

Eugene: Vietnam
Taxes
Environment

OVERALL RATING: B

PENNSYLVANIA

June 13-27, 1972
800 Interviews

	A Johnstown/ Altoona/Erie		B Pittsburgh/ Youngstown		A Harrisburg/ York/Lancaster/ Lebanon/Hagerstown		D Philadelphia		A Wilkes-Barre- Scranton/ Binghamton		B Total	
	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN
Vietnam	49	79 21	60	65 34	65	69 27	62	48 51	46	70 28	60	59 39
Inflation	29	60 38	29	39 60	19	61 37	29	44 55	25	60 40	29	47 52
Drugs	32	73 25	32	49 47	41	65 32	30	51 48	46	68 32	34	55 43
Crime	29	54 44	17	46 53	27	61 36	26	46 52	23	62 38	24	50 49
Unemployment	19	62 37	33	41 58	13	63 36	36	42 56	39	64 36	31	47 52
Taxes	32	54 43	41	41 58	36	60 38	31	39 59	41	57 43	36	44 54
Race	14	75 21	14	56 43	10	66 31	18	46 53	10	85 15	16	56 42
Foreign Policy	15	94 6	11	85 14	14	89 9	8	79 20	15	83 17	11	83 15
Environment	10	76 22	21	51 47	17	63 34	12	59 39	12	89 11	15	60 38
General Unrest	20	67 30	10	49 48	11	60 37	10	50 49	8	62 34	11	53 45
Welfare	15	59 41	7	50 48	19	61 38	11	54 45	4	77 23	11	55 44
Health Care	12	83 14	7	67 30	7	78 18	10	70 29	12	87 11	9	72 26
Nat'l. Defense	26	90 6	15	81 18	9	85 11	9	77 21	14	89 11	13	81 17
Bussing	3	71 22	4	44 51	2	58 38	4	54 44	2	77 21	4	54 42

ISSUES:

Vietnam
Taxes
Drugs
Unemployment
Inflation

ADI SPECIAL EMPHASIS ISSUES

Johnstown/Altoona/Erie:

Crime
National Defense
General Unrest

Pittsburgh/Youngstown:

Taxes
Environment

Harrisburg/York/Lancaster/
Lebanon/Hagerstown:

Vietnam
Drugs
Welfare

Philadelphia:

Unemployment

Wilkes-Barre-Scranton/
Binghamton:

Drugs
Unemployment
Taxes

OVERALL RATING: A

TEXAS

June 12-17, 1972
1,000 Interviews

	Corpus Christi		Houston		Beaumont/ Pt. Arthur		Shreveport/ Terarkana		Austin		Waco/Temple		Dallas/ Ft. Worth		Odessa/ Midland		San Antonio		El Paso		Abilene/ Sweetwater		Lubbock		Amarillo		Total		
	Imp.	KN	Imp.	KN	Imp.	KN	Imp.	KN	Imp.	KN	Imp.	KN	Imp.	KN	Imp.	KN	Imp.	KN	Imp.	KN	Imp.	KN	Imp.	KN	Imp.	KN	Imp.	KN	
Vietnam	55	34	49	58	57	82	77	44	58	67	47	61	48	75	53	61	57	72	27	62	67	64	38	78	50	72	51	67	
Inflation	38	21	26	50	27	58	28	64	22	67	14	42	25	56	26	47	36	49	27	38	61	61	25	61	25	53	28	53	
Drugs	38	38	36	60	30	55	22	72	17	61	33	50	30	64	48	58	21	54	10	62	17	67	42	69	47	58	34	61	
Crime	21	18	23	47	24	55	19	69	28	61	23	39	29	58	24	50	22	58	20	48	3	41	36	30	51	20	47	25	53
Unemployment	18	21	26	51	21	52	24	58	6	64	25	47	24	59	14	44	32	42	24	52	12	61	17	57	15	69	23	53	
Taxes	35	34	22	52	27	67	20	61	11	69	30	53	26	64	36	47	21	50	55	62	50	58	27	51	34	58	27	57	
Race	3	45	16	51	18	70	20	69	25	58	21	50	16	67	9	56	25	51	10	59	25	64	24	68	20	58	18	59	
Foreign Policy	16	59	22	76	12	85	21	86	24	92	20	69	16	84	24	81	17	85	10	83	12	67	15	83	15	86	18	80	
Environment	7	34	15	48	3	79	6	67	28	64	15	56	12	61	3	68	8	68	36	45	6	67	14	75	6	69	12	59	
General Unrest	3	18	13	52	12	58	12	69	8	47	12	53	13	58	23	50	12	59	23	52	11	61	15	74	6	69	13	57	
Welfare	6	31	11	46	9	61	9	64	19	50	16	47	21	66	9	59	14	56	7	52	9	58	12	50	6	72	12	55	
Health Care	17	64	13	59	9	70	6	92	9	72	3	64	10	75	6	73	11	68	13	72	3	67	6	79	28	83	10	70	
Nat'l. Defense	11	52	18	74	33	88	31	91	28	83	22	78	19	81	25	75	22	83	3	79	25	72	19	76	17	86	20	78	
Bussing	10	31	7	41	15	45	6	58	15	42	9	61	15	47	3	47	4	53	9	52	3	58	12	51	3	53	10	47	

ISSUES:

Vietnam
Drugs
Inflation
Taxes
Unemployment

Corpus Christi:

Inflation
Taxes
Unemployment
Health Care

San Antonio:

Vietnam
Inflation
Unemployment
Race

Beaumont/Pt. Arthur:

Vietnam
National Defense
Bussing

El Paso:

Taxes
Environment
General Unrest

Shreveport/Terarkana:

Vietnam
National Defense

Abilene/Sweetwater:

Vietnam
Inflation
Taxes
Race
National Defense

Austin:

Vietnam
Environment
Race
Foreign Policy
Welfare
Bussing

Lubbock:

Drugs
Crime
Race

Waco/Temple:

Race

Amarillo:

Drugs
Taxes
Health Care

Dallas/Ft. Worth:

Bussing

Odessa/Midland:

Drugs
Taxes
National Defense
Foreign Policy
General Unrest

OVERALL RATING: D

WISCONSIN

June 13-20, 1972
600 Interviews

	A		E		E		B		D	
	Minneapolis		Madison/ Rockford		Chicago/ Milwaukee		Green Bay/ Wausau		Total	
	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN
Vietnam	55	59 33	61	61 37	63	53 45	58	69 31	63	59 39
Inflation	31	52 46	37	47 53	31	45 55	31	55 45	32	49 51
Drugs	19	65 27	21	59 36	12	59 38	18	71 28	16	63 34
Crime	23	59 40	13	64 34	15	50 47	18	59 40	16	56 42
Unemployment	19	56 42	29	47 52	36	38 60	25	58 41	30	47 51
Taxes	56	37 60	36	43 55	45	39 61	43	50 48	46	42 57
Race	8	67 28	10	76 24	14	64 35	8	76 23	11	69 30
Foreign Policy	13	82 15	11	87 12	15	84 14	18	90 10	16	86 13
Environment	11	67 31	19	71 28	18	57 41	14	73 27	16	65 34
General Unrest	10	61 38	15	58 40	9	58 41	12	63 35	11	60 39
Welfare	18	49 49	16	52 45	18	47 53	15	56 43	17	50 49
Health Care	9	75 21	2	76 24	6	69 28	8	82 17	7	74 24
Nat'l Defense	17	86 12	20	86 13	12	82 17	19	88 11	16	85 14
Bussing	6	62 29	4	67 29	3	52 42	2	68 29	4	60 35

Minneapolis also includes Minneapolis/St. Paul-
La Crosse/Eau Claire-Dubuque

ISSUES:

Vietnam
Taxes
Inflation
Unemployment
Welfare

ADI SPECIAL EMPHASIS ISSUES

Minneapolis: Taxes
Crime
Madison/Rockford: Inflation
Drugs
Chicago/Milwaukee: Unemployment

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

July 28, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

KEN COLE

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

H. Ross Perot

You may be delighted to learn that a mild freeze has been placed on returning Perot phone calls. You should feel free to return only one in ten of Perot's calls.

GS/jb

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

July 27, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DWIGHT CHAPIN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

RNC Convention

Bob asked me to forward a copy of all the Acceptance Speech material that Ray Price submitted. Not only will the material be useful in your planning but also material that the President can't use could be used by others.

Have you reviewed my memorandum for the record on the Convention meeting of July 25 yet? Any changes?

It is my understanding that you and Carruthers are scripting the entire Convention, based on the minute-by-minute schedule Carruthers controls. Who is the chief writer working for you on this? For example, Nelson Rockefeller has asked us for assistance on his Nomination Speech. Has he been contacted by Ray Price or someone? Shouldn't John Scali be involved in the Convention planning? Bill Timmons is submitting his alternate programming plan on Friday, July 28. When do you plan on submitting an updated minute-by-minute schedule of the Convention to Bob?

GS/jb

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 25, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: GORDON STRACHAN

FROM: L. HIGBY 

One thing you might want to check with Dwight is whether or not it would be helpful for him to have copies of the acceptance speech material Price sent in in terms of trying to put the overall convention together. I imagine it would be.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 25, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: GORDON STRACHAN

FROM: L. HIGBY 

It is my understanding that we have complete control of the speeches that are going to be given at the convention. Is this the case? If so, Bob mentioned in the meeting this morning that it would be good to get a lot of the material the President obviously can't use out of the stuff Price has submitted for the acceptance but would be great for other people to use to these people. Chapin says the entire convention is being scripted by us.

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

July 26, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

KEN COLE

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Campaign Surveys - Wave II

As I mentioned in our telephone conversation on July 24, Bob Teeter is available to brief you, Ehrlichman and Happer on issue information developed during the Wave II series of campaign polls. Would you advise me of a convenient time for the three of you to be briefed by Teeter?

GS/jb
FU - 7/31

HIGH PRIORITY

July 26, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DWIGHT CHAPIN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Sinatra

It is my understanding that you should call Malatesta, in the Vice President's office, and that he should be the primary contact with Sinatra. The contact should not be you, Cashen, or anyone in this office.

GS/jb

~~ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL~~

July 22, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

RAY CALDIERO

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Celebrities

One comment that was made concerning your July 21 update of the Celebrities and Athletes was whether you have a list of those Celebrities who are committed to the President but precluded from taking a public or out front type stand. The most recent example of course is Merv Griffin, who although prefers the President cannot take a public position. If you have a list of such individuals, would you please forward it to me at your earliest convenience?

GS:car
H F/U 7/27

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL/
EYES ONLY

July 24, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DWIGHT CHAPIN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Updated Campaign
Strategy Memoranda

Bob asked me to send you these copies of the updated campaign strategy memoranda, subject to the same condition that you do not disclose your access to others on the staff. Several include recommendations on the RNC Convention that you may find helpful.

GS/jb

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 20, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

Doug Hallett
~~CHARLES COLSON~~

SUBJECT:

Larry Higby's Request of July 19.

The following is in response to Mr. Higby's request that I update and amend my thoughts expressed in my response to your June 12 memorandum -- you seem to have a virtually insatiable appetite for advice you have no intention of following. (That's a joke. No, it's only half a joke.)

The first point I want to reiterate is relatively minor. As you may recall, I suggested that the period between the conventions was a good opportunity to focus on domestic issues with some dramatic, colorful Presidential participation. To date, I have seen no such effort made.

My major point is more central. As you may recall again, my earlier memorandum stressed the difference between a national strategy and a local, regional and interest-group strategy. On a national level, I felt, and feel, we should be aiming squarely at those peripheral urban ethnics and upper-middle-class whites in the Northeast, industrial Middle West, and California who are Senator McGovern's only hope for election -- and that we should be aiming at them with a forward-looking, progressive positive approach geared around reprivatization, getting government off people's back, reordering priorities, decentralization, etc. On the local, regional, and interest-group level, in turn, I felt, and feel, we should be directing our negative issues -- abortion, acid, homosexuality, our more extreme rhetoric about national security, tax reform, welfare reform, etc. -- in carefully-designed, well-researched, probably printed and front group formats so that we ourselves are not hurt by our own efforts.

To date, it has appeared as if this strategy were deliberately being contravened. In particular, our positive national material -- the pamphlets, the "Lift of Leadership" book, the speech inserts, etc. I have seen -- is the same old, puffy bullshit which almost put the nation to sleep in 1968. More seriously, the dominant tone of our national campaign, at least so far, has been negative and negative in what I think is a counterproductive way. Specifically, Secretary Laird's charge about the F-15 and Senator Eagleton, his overly-lavish rhetoric -- "white flag budget" -- and under-researched "analysis" of Senator McGovern's defense budget, the Vice President's rhetoric -- "no-no-bird", Secretary Connally's charge about Senator McGovern's Vietnam policy undermining the President's negotiating posture (really now, who believes that?), and Clark MacGregor's Capitol Hill Club Speech, to name only what I can cite off the top of my head, are all counterproductive. They detract attention from Senator McGovern's extremism and attract attention to our own. They are not credible. They undermine the President's stature and the advantages of his incumbency while giving McGovern the stature he lacks. They give an open invitation to the media to screw us. Most importantly, they turn off the people we know are going to be the swing voters in this election and leave the forward, progressive and potential/ even the middle ground to Senator McGovern.

On the other side of the ledger, because we are doing the above, we seem satisfied with not doing out in the boondocks, what we should be -- getting rigorously analytical, well-documented statements of Senator McGovern's views out to the various interest-groups on each of the major issues -- Israel to Jews, parochial schools and abortion to Catholics, national security to veterans, etc. In fairness, we have done a few mailings, particularly of the Israel position and the overly-rhetorical Laird defense budget analysis. We have not done nearly enough. And while I do not know what we have done in the organizational sphere, I fear we are spending a lot of time talking to, stroking, dining, and salivating over groups we know are going to support us anyway while ignoring the opportunity to expand our constituency -- at least if the fact that there is not one Vietnam veteran on our Veterans' re-election committee is any example, that is true.

There are some yard-sticks to measure the success of our campaign so far. It was my understanding that the President wanted us to begin going after McGovern in a rational manner right after the California primary -- how much was done? It was my understanding that we were going to use the Democratic Convention -- that we were going to encourage division, have our own demonstrations by front groups, etc. -- how much was done?

And it was my understanding that we were not going to let Senator McGovern get away with switching his positions and moving to the middle ground on the particulars of his issues -- how much has been done?

In my humble view, this campaign needs a rather radical reorganization and redirection. The Good Lord is watching over the President and is going to get him re-elected -- if only because nobody else will -- but there is no point in taking chances. My suggestions follow:

1. Part of the problem is simply organizational. While you up there may know what the hell is going on, those of us down here who do the actual writing and telephoning, etc. do not. There is massive duplication of effort, inter-office rivalry, competition, holding back of material from one another, etc., etc. which is not benefitting the President. We need some consolidation. I would suggest:
 - (a) Combining the Colson interest-group operation with 1701's -- 1701 would get lead responsibility -- and it would also get Colson. Most of the White House-connected re-election efforts -- dinners, funding requests, etc. -- have already been accomplished. (If they haven't, it's too late.) Now what we need is a hard-driving organizational and political effort and that can only be done from a campaign headquarters. Colson could take as many people from here as he needs, reorganize the operation, fire and hire people, etc. Malek would retain his administrative role, but Colson would have the lead in idea development and kicking ass.
 - (b) That is not all Colson would have. He'd be MacGregor's deputy with authority to run all over the place. It needs it -- still.
 - (c) A skeleton Colson staff would remain here under Colson's direction to provide such support activities as are needed -- agency contact, White House mailings, writing assistance, speaker programming, etc.
 - (d) Writing -- now being done at the RNC, White House, 1701, and God knows where else -- would be consolidated under one chief -- perhaps Bill Safire should take the job for the campaign. No matter whose payroll anybody was on, he would be under one guy and all requests for writing assistance would be funnelled to that one guy.

- (e) Press and media relations have to retain a split identity -- and, in any event, the Klein-Clawson operation seems to coordinate pretty well with the Shumway operation. P.R. -types like Rhatican, though, would go with the campaign. Such P.R. activities as the Domestic Council or NSC need would be handled within their own ranks or by the Colson support staff remaining at the White House -- requests would go through Colson.
 - (f) For political purposes, the Domestic Council political operation -- presumably Ed Harper -- would report to Colson at 1701.
 - (g) Democrats for Nixon should report to Colson and coordinate with the 1701 interest-group operation. If it continues to develop as it is now -- as a separate Connally-Colson preserve -- it is going to be duplicative and maybe even competitive.
 - (h) The enthusiasm factor needs to be weighed in. You should be visible to your staff (I've been writing memoranda to you for two years and have, not once, ever met you). So should the President. Starting now, the President should have a series of afternoon pep session-cocktail parties and get everybody to at least meet him in cycles of decently small groups. You couldn't believe how lax people are around here -- and mainly, I think, because they find it virtually impossible to have any personal identity with the President.
2. Not all the problem is organizational, however. We have got to remember that Senator McGovern cannot win this campaign. Only Mr. Nixon can lose it. That being true, we should not be so response-oriented and so quick to jump at every quiver in the McGovern camp. A light travel and speaking schedule for the President should be locked in -- and something attached to the President so he gets an electric shock if he tries to break it. The same goes for everybody else.
 3. Since our lack of ability to verbalize any positive themes and our constant resort to the negative may be as much due to a lack of awareness of what those positive themes should be as anything else, Pat Moynihan should be asked to come down for the campaign, with authority to write or assign to outside writers the President's substantive speeches as suggested in my earlier memorandum. We would also get the additional benefit of having somebody around with a sense of humor.

4. Whatever the November Group is doing -- and I don't know anybody at the White House who knows -- should be available for comment to people who are (a) political and (b) have been around the President for more than one campaign.

I hope you will find these suggestions both annoying and helpful.

cc: Charles W. Colson

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

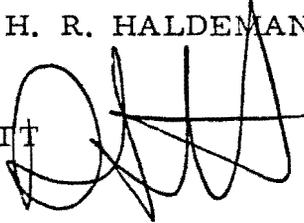
WASHINGTON

21 July 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM DOUG HALLETT



RE: Addendum to Memorandum of 20 July

I note in today's paper Clark MacGregor's recommendation that the President not campaign until the last three weeks of the campaign and then that that period be set aside for campaigning. Because my two previous memoranda have not been too specific on this point, I want to make my position clear. I think it is important that the President never appear to begin campaigning. He should phase into it after the convention. From September 1 on there should be a mix of D. C. -based substantive activities, substantive travel, and mass rally travel (5 or 6 at most for the entire fall). As September flows into October, the mix should just become more heavily weighted to substantive travel and then in the last two weeks more weighted to mass rally travel. Thus, there might be one mass rally on or about Labor Day, one in late September, one in mid-October, and two during the last two weeks -- and any rally appearance should be connected with a substantive appearance the previous or next day. On the substantive travel side, there might be three trips in September, three in the first two weeks of October, and four from mid-October on. Thus, the overwhelming weight of the President's appearances would be at least theoretically government-related -- and he would appear talking about governmental issues. There is no law that says you have to campaign with a bunch of goddamn balloons and Nixonettes and mouth a lot of partisan banalities -- the President can attract attention and dominate the airways and the issues in other, more effective -- and less destructive -- ways.

cc: Charles W. Colson

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 22, 1972

EYES ONLY/ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
THRU: L. HIGBY
FROM: KEN W. CLAWSON *KC*
SUBJECT: CAMPAIGN STRATEGY

(1) The President has maintained a high-level, busy executive posture between the conventions with the single exception of greeting Frank Fitzsimmons and members of the Teamsters Union Executive Board at San Clemente. I think this exception to the generally high-level tone the President has set was a justifiable one and really quite valuable.

(2) I am still convinced that in general terms the high level Presidential posture is still the most valid, but it is only meaningful if all 100 plus surrogates and, for that matter, the whole government apparatus is campaigning like hell from this moment until election day.

I feel strongly that to "free" the President to comfortably maintain his image as a Presidential candidate lies in how effectively the surrogates and the government apparatus really hurl themselves into the campaign. If we are less effective than we should be, I envision it becoming necessary for the President to come off his best posture and to, in effect, take over the campaign by interjecting himself fully into the fray. I find most Cabinet Officers and high-level surrogates with whom we deal are anxious to campaign extensively, but I think it is imperative that we monitor the surrogates program extremely closely to make sure we are getting every ounce of energy into the campaign.

As far as travel is concerned, I still believe that it should be Presidential-related travel, keyed to our target states and specific voting blocs.

(3) I think we should take great pains to paint McGovern as a "minority leader of a minority constituency." I think we should give every indication that any "regular, normal" American, whether he be Republican, Democrat or Independent, can find leadership and solice under the Nixon umbrella. I think that we should use words like "elite, fringe, extremist" and even in some cases "radical" to portray the constituency of Senator McGovern. Every effort should be made to isolate McGovern's more vocal backers from the mainstream of the Democratic Party and the nation as a whole.

Whether McGovern is before his time or after his time in philosophy and in substance, he and his followers should be portrayed as a small, closely-knit cadre of over-educated, lazy, fat-of-the-land type minority. In foreign policy, where we are in my opinion, miles ahead, McGovern should be portrayed as inexperienced, rural, yokel, naive and isolationist. Personally, he should be portrayed as an individual who is not the kind of man that world leaders could respect. Indirectly, he should be portrayed as womanish, weak and a waffler. In short, a man without backbone, a candidate whose positions are never firm, who lacks courage to make the hard decisions and to stick to them in the face of adversity. For example, in Florida when he indicated he would keep a residual force in Southeast Asia on one day and then completely back away from it in the face of opposition from some of his more radical supporters in the Doral Hotel Lobby.

(4) As we were able to do in 1968, the McGovern people will have the advantage of being able to attack every little or big mistake from one end of the Executive Branch to the other and pin all of the failures and errors and foibles on the President. I personally think that Ted Kennedy will still be McGovern's most effective campaigner and that he will trumpet the health issue all over the country if we don't preempt him to the best of our ability starting now.

Kennedy, who seems bent on the '76 nomination for himself, will probably be given press coverage equal to McGovern's wherever he speaks, and I think we can count on his stumping for McGovern extensively so that he may report after McGovern loses in November that he did everything in his power to elect the Democratic ticket. We probably ought to have a team whose speciality is to monitor Kennedy and respond to him.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 21, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: BOB HALDEMAN
FROM: RAY PRICE
SUBJECT: Campaign Strategy

I've no changes in my June 16 memo, but would add a few additional thoughts:

1. The target is McGovern, not the Democrats. I was glad this point was made so forcefully this morning, and I think it's essential that we stick with it. We should stress the open door theme, and keep coming back to the argument that RN represents the great, bi-partisan traditions of America -- the traditions not only of Lincoln and TR and Eisenhower, but also of Wilson and FDR, of Truman and Kennedy.

2. Whenever possible, RN should help cement this impression by referring back to these traditions, and to positions associated with them: to FDR's leadership of the free world in its time of peril, to HST's forging of the Atlantic alliance, etc.

3. Throughout our history, there have been fringe movements that were briefly and dramatically in the spotlight, then faded back into the shadows from whence they came -- while the great bi-partisan traditions were carried on. We should zero in on McGovern's as the latest of these.

4. We should have a moratorium on discussion of forging a new coalition that will make the GOP the majority party for the next generation -- this will scare off those dispossessed Democrats who see a resounding defeat of McGovern as the only way they can take their party back.

5. Non-partisan forums are the best forums. The President made this point to the surrogates; at this point it's doubly true for him, if we're to make him the rallying-point for disaffected Democrats as well as Republicans and Independents. To the maximum extent possible, the forums we book him into should be ones associated with those great bi-partisan traditions.

6. We should do our damndest to avoid getting into situations like the one we found ourselves in with Packwood and the Crippling Strikes Prevention Act. This hurts us at our most vulnerable point: it provides some of the most damaging support yet for the picture of RN as an unprincipled politician who would sacrifice anything for electoral support. We could use some fights on principle for unpopular causes to offset it; or at least to resist some obvious pressures to take the expedient course. I saw Packwood on two networks last night; it was devastating. We shouldn't delude ourselves that we can do this sort of thing (if we did) without getting caught at least part of the time, and being severely hurt by it. I think Stew Alsop was right in his column when he asked who could defeat RN in November, and concluded that only RN could.

7. In general, I thought the presentation of strategy this morning was right on target.

8. Attached is an outline I did last Sunday for the keynote presentation at the convention, together with some notes explaining it. It builds up to a direct appeal to dissident Democrats to join with us. I think this kind of thing could also be the keynote of the campaign.


Raymond K. Price, Jr.

Attachments

Keynote Presentation: Outline

1. Moderator. There are discontents and dissatisfactions in the land; Americans feel frustrated with the present, and often fed up with government. We share these discontents and dissatisfactions, and we too are fed up with what all too often have been the failures of government. But we don't just complain. For three and a half years we've been doing something about it; we've made progress; the direction is set, the momentum is established, the players are lined up, the openings have been made to Russia, China and others abroad, and to new departures at home. Highlights of what we've achieved. What we've accomplished is a beginning, and a credential; now we're eager to get on with the job, and to finish what we've begun. In the film you're about to see, you will see some of those beginnings.

FILM: THE NIXON YEARS

2. Keynoter A: What we will do for you. Our plans, our goals, for the future, as we look from now to 1976. A new prosperity without war and without inflation; the beginnings of a full generation of peace; a rebirth of pride in America; a fair shake for the farmer, security for the elderly, progress on the environment, etc.

3. Keynoter B: What we will not do to you. (The attack speech.)

All the McGovern nasties -- we won't take money out of the workers' pockets for a \$1,000 dole, we won't bus your kids, we won't let America become a second-rate power whose President has to beg, we won't spawn a new permissiveness that collapses moral values; we'll work with the young, but won't ignore the old; we'll turn America around without turning it upside down. We'll respect the student, the professor, the farmer -- and also the worker who wears a hard hat. Note: the focus of this will be entirely on the sins of the present Democratic nominee, not on the sins of past Democratic administrations.

4. Keynoter C. From the party of the Open Door, an Invitation.

From the podium of this Republican convention, we address this talk to the millions of loyal Democrats left homeless by Hurricane McGovern. Speaking to them directly, we invite them to make their home with us -- try it, you may like it. Think about why you're a Democrat. Is it because the Democratic party is the party of FDR, Truman and Kennedy? If so, then ask yourself whether Roosevelt or Truman or Kennedy would advocate crippling our defenses and abandoning our allies -- Roosevelt, who led the defense

of freedom in World War II; Truman, the architect of NATO and the Marshall Plan and the Truman Doctrine, and patron at the founding of Israel; Kennedy, who declared we would "bear any burden," etc. Is it because the Democratic party is the party of labor? -- through a litany of why people in the past have been Democratic, and why those same reasons should now lead them to cast their lot with us in 1972. Its tone is one of respect for the Democratic Party as a great national institution, and sympathy with those members who have seen it seized by a self-appointed elite determined to convert it into a narrow ideological faction -- of warm and open-hearted welcome to those left on the outside at Miami a month ago, and of common cause with them because we share their hopes, their dreams, their concerns about America. In his acceptance speech, George McGovern said, "Come home, America." To millions of Democrats whose ideas no longer have a hearing in the national Democratic Party, I say tonight, "Come home, Americans -- come share our home -- give us not only your votes, but your hands, we will give you ours in welcome." This is the real keynote -- and it should be echoed throughout the rest of the convention proceedings.

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Notes on the keynote outline, and on the invitation:

1. Structure. This is broken into sections not by issue area, but to make a logical progression leading up to what I think should be the real "keynote" of the keynote, and of the convention: an explicit, direct appeal to disaffected Democrats to take refuge with us.

One of our real dangers has been that we'd come across as smug and complacent. This counters that, at the outset of the convention, in two ways: first, by starting off identifying ourselves with the dissatisfactions most Americans feel in one way or another, saying we share those, and that's why we want another four years to complete the unfinished task of combatting them; and second, by reaching out to the Democrats rather than merely patting ourselves on the back. There are more of them than there are of us, so we need them; people like to be courted, and this does so -- showing that we care about them.

The intro establishes an audience rapport by saying we know how you feel; it brags a bit, but without smugness, and leads logically into the film, which shows RN grappling with the inherited troubles and making headway against them in his first term; the film leaves us at 1972; Keynoter A then takes us from 1972 to 1976, in terms of our hopes and plans; Keynoter B draws the sharp distinctions between what we're offering and what the opposition is; this sets the stage for Keynoter C to make his appeal to the traditional Democrats to come with us.

2. Advantages. Keying off with this unusual sort of appeal to Democrats has several distinct advantages:

- a. Being unusual, it makes news.
- b. It plays against the weakness of the opposition candidate, and highlights Democratic divisions.
- c. It keys off our "party of the open door" theme.

d. It sets up some possible additional convention highlights (see notes below on this).

e. It establishes a set of explicit rationales for dissident Democrats to join with us.

f. It adds interest to what could otherwise be a dull convention, by introducing an element of contest and confrontation -- but making it confrontation among Democrats rather than among Republicans.

g. It provides a theme for the commentators to talk about, with a cast of characters.

3. Convention follow-up. I'd like to see us issue this call to Democrats at the outset, and then follow it up throughout the convention -- not only returning to it in subsequent speeches, but adding some items to the program that would pick it up. Examples:

a. A special, spotlighted appearance by Connally, speaking as a Democrat to his fellow Democrats.

b. On the second night, a special series of short speeches by Democrats responding to the Republican invitation -- assuming the right people can be rounded up. Examples: a prominent labor leader, life-long Democrat, saying the candidate who in 1972 best represents what labor represents is not McGovern, but RN; an attractive, articulate young voice of the New South, saying his party has left him; a respected academic or student leader, saying he's been a Democrat but McGovern is too much, and we need responsible leadership; Floyd McKissick saying the real road to black progress is not the McGovern way, but the Nixon way.

c. Release telegrams and letters from dissident Democrats during the convention, saying they're going Republican.

d. Plug dissident Democrats into the outside-the-hall schedule.

4. TV Coverage. Perhaps the biggest payoff, if we follow a course like this, will be in the cud-chewing of the TV reporters and commentators. They desperately need something to talk about, and if we can get them talking about how many Democrats the Republicans are going to get, and speculating about what Democratic switch-overs we're going to parade out next, we've achieved four crucial goals:

a. We've used our convention to condition Democratic voters, in explicit, personal terms, to thinking about voting Republican.

b. We've established a "prior approval" factor -- that is, we've made switching seem respectable to the TV viewer by showing him that other good Democrats are doing it.

c. We've injected a note of drama into the convention, and we've done it by moving the battle to the other guy's turf.

d. We've got the commentators talking about our issues.

Not to mention that we've opened our convention in an even better way than the Democrats opened theirs -- we've made it not just a GOP Convention, but a convention of and for the new coalition.

#####

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 21, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: BOB HALDEMAN
FROM: RAY PRICE
SUBJECT: First Family Scheduling

I haven't thought this one through carefully, but would hope that they'd be scheduled extensively. They've become a first-rate asset. In particular, we should get them on as many talk shows as possible. I caught Tricia on the Merv Griffin show the other evening and she was a knockout -- real star quality, said all the right things, and was stunning in all respects. At a time when average Americans are worried about holding the family together as an institution, about alienated kids, etc., simply demonstrating that RN has daughters like these who are as loyal to him as they are is an enormous plus -- especially with parents and grandparents.

Booking them into some political forums is fine -- but where I think they can be most useful is in those situations that give them a chance to express their (and RN's) concern for people. This sense of caring about people is one that we're weak on, and that we've got to bring through more successfully -- and they have the credentials to help do it. In particular, as a result of the coverage of her travels Mrs. Nixon has built up great strength in this regard. Merely by visiting nursing homes, hospitals, disaster areas, etc., she can remind people of it. We might again have her make non-political visits to some outstanding volunteer projects, that are doing things for people. Incidentally, I was rather forcefully struck a few weeks ago, when looking at the pictures of Jacqueline Kennedy's visit to Kennedy Center, surrounded by the "beautiful people," etc., that there might be a strong if somewhat subconscious vein we could tap: I suspect that a lot of people today, comparing the two, might suddenly come to realize how refreshing it is to have a working, gracious, involved, concerned and mature First Lady, rather than a frivolous pleasure-seeker from Camelot.

I'd like to see all three give a lot of attention to the elderly. Not only are the elderly a big voting bloc, and the most conspicuous non-quota group from the Democratic convention (where they were represented by a token Colonel Sanders), but they in particular would respond both to Mrs. Nixon and to the girls.

A possibility that just occurs to me now: maybe we could organize a Grandparents' Day at the White House, with Mamie as an honored guest, and stir a lot of sewing-circle speculation that maybe RN-PN are soon to be grandparents. They'd love it in Peoria.

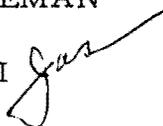


Raymond K. Price, Jr.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 21, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: JOHN SCALI 
SUBJECT: Election Strategy Addendum

I have these points to add to my Election Strategy memorandum:

1. It is increasingly clear McGovern's main supporters, those providing the vital thrust, will be the college-educated, young reformers obsessed with Vietnam as an issue. We should make a determined, skillful effort to separate from them as a bloc, the non-college, working youth. For each college grad already lined up behind, or inclined toward McGovern, there are three to four young workers who labor in the factory, the corner grocery, the farm, the office or in retail business. There is a natural rivalry between them which can be exploited for the President's benefit. Why not organize a "Working Youth for Nixon" organization which will dramatically publicize the gulf between them and the kooky college crowd. We might think of a big convention of the working youth, highlighting their support of the President and their deep interest in issues that bear directly on improved conditions for their advancement. This must be more than just lip service and a one-shot rally. To further wean young labor from McGovern, for example, the President could concentrate some attention on an issue which we have ignored: Ideas and studies to relieve the monotony of factory assembly work, a problem which already has caused some strikes. Presidential concern about how to improve quality of life for factory workers, particularly, would be welcome. This is an issue which McGovern and which labor has ignored thus far, but one with widespread appeal.

2. The President must devote more time and attention to an effort to "humanize" Richard Nixon. If not, he will come off second best by contrast to McGovern, the humble Methodist minister's son, who will "level" with the American people when elected President. I think it is folly in the extreme for the President to adopt a DeGaulle mold. He is already vulnerable to criticism that he is a "loner", isolated from the real America. How do we do this? In two ways (1) by becoming gradually more accessible to the press and by informal comments now and then which include "I made a mistake on that one, but I have learned" ... There is nothing that appeals to the fibre of Americans than to know that even the President will admit an occasional mistake. This will strike a responsive chord and humanize him more in the eyes of the voters; (2) by impromptu actions which seem unrelated to picking up votes. I have in mind such activities as not-previously-announced visit to a trade school where he would spend three to four hours carefully examining how students are taught, or a night-time visit to a police precinct where he would spend several hours at the station house and in a police cruiser. I would envision all of these as events announced after the fact, tending to prove that they are not publicity stunts. Newsmen, of course, would complain afterward but let them. The amount of TV reporting and print coverage would be almost as great afterward, once newsmen reconstructed the visit. I strongly recommend that this be tried over a period to help dispel the belief the President is in the hands of Madison Avenue and does not do anything which is not carefully programmed for maximum political advantage in advance.

I am not proposing that the President suddenly become a folksy, back-slapper. That would be out of character. But, he can successfully soften his image as the distant leader.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 20, 1972.

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: BILL SAFIRE
RE: CONVENTION

I was talking to Howard K. Smith last night about what he expects for television coverage, and he said that all the TV people expected a pretty dull convention with the likelihood of violence in the streets. That's not good -- will associate us with violence, inability to reduce dissent, etc.

Howard wondered if we were planning the usual lineup -- President and Vice President acceptance speeches on the same night. He suggested that if, for the first time, they could be on different nights, they would be separate news events, each a must for coverage in full.

Moreover, it occurs to me, a mass audience is less likely to sit through two long speeches practically back to back; in addition, if the VP's speech is really good, it detracts from the President's, and if it is no good, it loses the audience.

Therefore, why do we not do something radical in the way of political conventions and nominate the Vice President on one night, have him accept that night, and do the President the next night?

This would be met with a lot of cluck-clucking as anti-traditional, but the real reason for putting them together in the past was to first determine the Presidential nominee and have him select the running mate; with a sitting President who will make his choice known before the Convention, that reason is obviated.

Thus, we could have two separate and distinct news stories, better ratings, and a more solitaire setting for the President on his night. Worth considering?

cc: Dick Moore

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 21, 1972

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MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN
JOHN D. EHRLICHMAN

FROM:

John C. Whitaker



SUBJECT:

Campaign Strategy

This is in response to Ken Cole's request for ideas on what the President might do from now through November, and Larry Higby's memorandum of July 19 (Tab A) requesting an update of my earlier thoughts on campaign strategy.

First, there are a number of things that the President can do that McGovern can't, capitalizing on the fact of being President. He can sign a bill, with a hoopla signing ceremony (or veto one frowning into the free TV cameras); he can have substantive meetings with international leaders, or their emissaries; he can have substantive meetings with Governors or Mayors (McGovern can meet with the latter group, but only in the stance of being briefed or looking strictly political.)

The idea of speeches only from the Oval Office gives me some problems. Beyond the obvious Presidential ones like veto messages or reports on the status of peace talks on Vietnam, it seems to me that other substantive dissertations, on either domestic or foreign topics such as drugs, busing, crime or international detente, whether on TV or radio, would, I assume, have to be paid for. This is out of my field, but I think that, particularly in the middle of a campaign, even truly national addresses will have to be accompanied by equal time for Democratic rejoinder under the Fairness Doctrine. Thus I am not

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sure how many of our eggs we want to put in the speech-from-the-White House basket. As a partial alternative, it seems to me that the plethora of fairly major Administration announcements which we traditionally handle by a 2,000-word handout from Ziegler accompanied by a Cabinet Officer press briefing might better be handled from now to November by the President himself making a 100-word statement to the TV cameras in Ziegler's shop. This will net us purely news TV coverage -- no opportunity for free reply -- and 30 to 90 seconds on the national evening news which is as much as we could expect from a more exhausting event like an all-day trip to St. Louis.

At the Convention

I feel strongly that we should get the President in and out of Miami Beach as quickly as possible because of the danger of confrontation with demonstrators (assuming that our best intelligence is the same as what I pick up from the papers). The relatively dull predictable show on the inside is bound to drive the TV networks outside the Convention Hall looking for street drama. Even a minor fracas there, dull though it may be, would probably be more photogenic than the business of the convention. Any interplay between the President and the demonstrators is going to be compared by the media and the viewers with the scene of the McGovern confrontation with the hippies in the Doral lobby which got pretty good notices. I think an overnight at Key Biscayne would be running a real risk because, even though you can seal off the causeway, there would probably be a confrontation there or outside the President's compound. Any defensive maneuver like that would just be played as the President ducking these strident types whom McGovern at least had the guts to talk to.

Thus my suggestion for the President's personal involvement with Miami Beach would be for him to leave about eight o'clock on Wednesday night (possibly with live TV from the South Lawn of

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his departure, either consulting with HAK or JDE on pressing State business, or even pouring over papers in his residence). I would fly directly into Homestead Air Force Base (TV but closed arrival and no comment to press), and chopper to the convention site timed for the President to make his acceptance speech about 10:15. (By 9:00 p.m. EDT people are not off the Los Angeles freeways and in front of their TV sets.) Immediately after his acceptance speech, I would have him make an unexpected visit to a separate location where a large, screened youth group would be having a meeting, unwarned that the President would join them. The point would be to have all under 25, and even some screened long-hairs, to drive home the point that everybody under 25 with long hair isn't for McGovern. After about a 30-minute hard-hitting speech to this group (maybe even some Q&A's, if we trust our screening enough), I would have the President get back in his helicopter and get back to Washington so that on Thursday he could be back at his usual stand being President. On Thursday, I would try to get lots of film in the White House (bill signing, National Security Council or Cabinet Meeting) -- in other words, strictly "playing President."

If our media types have hard data showing that the Wednesday TV audience will be a bust if we have a dull Tuesday night show, I would like to see a scenario such as I have just outlined moved up to Tuesday night if we can possibly get away with it without ruining the convention to the extent that Wednesday is purely anti-climax. Even a precedent-shattering move like having a two-day convention would be better in my mind than having the President spend two days in Miami Beach. One final thought -- if the problem is to build some drama into Wednesday night to assure a good TV audience, might it be possible to delay announcement of the President's choice of a running mate until then? -- That's "bassackwards" to tradition, but why not - provided the President doesn't plan to announce the V.P. pre-convention.

Particularly if we restrict the President's time in town, the risks of confrontation with hippies apply nearly as strongly to Mrs. Nixon and the rest of the First Family and to the Vice President. I agree that we should do everything we can to avoid their

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

being in direct proximity to the demonstrators, but this kind of defensive strategy argues even more strongly for having the President do a youth-oriented event while in town such as the youth forum described above.

General Campaign Strategy

We have become the heir of the old FDR coalition -- almost -- and the South for sure - ethnic groups in the North (Jewish and Catholic in particular) and, to a lesser extent, Labor. We should push Jewish and Catholic events for the President and embrace the tax credit for private schools more visibly -- beyond just endorsing the Mills bill. -- I know some Christian Scientists who don't buy this.

Assuming that the President's lead in the popularity polls is now about 16%, I think that we should run a low-risk campaign unless that gap gets down to 8%, or is dropping toward 8% precipitously. The question, as I see it, is how to run such a low-risk campaign without appearing to be doing so. Here is my list of don'ts:

- Don't do any large political rallies - not one.
- Don't engage in any debates .
- Don't hold any press conferences for only the national press that are advertised in advance. -- East Room format.

The press is vital. The President has won when the press was with him (1968) and lost when the press was not (1960 and 1962).

(1) I think he has to give them some deep-think liberal red meat to pontificate about and give at least the appearance of accessibility. The thought pieces, I think, can be delivered as radio addresses. The theme would be of a thoughtful, forward-looking President winning the peace abroad and of solving our domestic problems, but with the job only half done. Interviews with pundits would be good.

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

(2) As for press conferences, on the national level maybe 2 or 3 from now to the election. I would have the President do quickie press conferences in the Oval Office so that the national scribes don't come in loaded for bear.

(3) In addition, I would concentrate on the regional media in places like, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Dallas, St. Louis, Detroit and New York by calling press conferences without warning. While the national press would have to be included in these, and would be primed with their questions in advance, the softer questions from the more numerous regional reps should predominate. In addition, properly chosen regional sessions like these can ensure that the President's message gets to the voters in areas which he needs to win, but can't afford the time to pick his way through personally. For example, we could cover the southern media effectively from Atlanta and New Orleans, and New England by visiting Boston (a town which is tough to get in and out of because of the huge numbers of students, but where the New England impact should be worth the aggravation). -- Denver for the Rocky Mountains and Portland for the Pacific Northwest. We may want to consider paying for campaign air time to televise these in the particular region. The first few we might get away with scheduling without any advance notice on staff time in areas where the local media speaks to a particular constituency without having to pull the reporters out of the boondocks (such as Chicago for the farm belt). The strategy of suddenly-called press conferences in cities could change to announcing press conferences in advance -- buying regional TV time and sucking in reporters from the boondocks if his point spread with McGovern narrows, and he wants to increase the risks.

I recognize that the appearance of large crowds applauding the President is desirable on the nightly TV news. While I think the risk of rallies (hippies and a bore to the press) to produce them is too great to run, I think we can accomplish the same result in the eyes of the TV cameras by doing motorcades on the way to substantive events. The motorcade can stop occasionally and, if the crowd is friendly, the President could step up on his car

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and deliver a short general purpose speech. (By this time we must have something better than the old LBJ bullhorn.) This will require us to develop a pithy five-minute speech, or a series of them -- but not the 25-30 minute "the speech" for rallies that he has used in past campaigns.

One thing that we often talk about but seldom get done is a local color event. This is another easy way to free TV time and can help portray the President as a human being as opposed to the Machiavellian politician that McGovern will seek to make of him. I remember the success of the President's early morning visit to the peace demonstrators at the Lincoln Memorial, and hope that we can be imaginative enough to work in some similar "unplanned" scenes like dropping by a local diner at 7:00 a.m. and sharing a cup of coffee with a couple of truck drivers.

I have a general aversion to telethons, but if we are looking for a television extravaganza, I like the format of the international town meeting. By satellite, we could have the network representatives in a number of international capitols relaying live questions answered by the President here in Washington. This would play to his strength -- international affairs, and even hostile questions, unlike those that come from domestic hecklers, tend to unite our citizens as "us" against "them." A "foreign heckler" will unite the country just like the Jews and Arabs would love each other if attacked by moon men. I like that format so much that I think we should consider paying for it. If we can get it free (and equal time for McGovern), then let him sympathize with the foreign heckler -- a good trap.

Pace of Campaign

Before the convention I think the President should schedule one major domestic event out of town. He should also continue to be visible going about the serious business of Government. Right after the convention, on Friday, August 25 (the day after his return from Miami), I think he should do a substantive domestic

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

event in either Philadelphia or Chicago. (I would prefer Chicago because I think we ought to save Philadelphia for Labor Day, although I don't have any specific event in mind for that important date -- I'm just tempted by the Rizzo angle.) The Chicago event could be a meeting with midwestern farm media together with Butz and Peterson highlighting the Russian grain deal. Although I don't know how, it would be nice to get Daley involved. A noon-time motorcade sounds like a natural, but that brings echoes of '68 which is a definite negative. On August 29, I think he should go off to Texas to do screwworms with Escheverria and John Connally (don't laugh, it's really a good regional story), but because that would be a joke as a national newslead, we need another event besides screwworms with a Mexican-American flavor done the same day.

As the campaign progresses, I would attempt to schedule no more than one trip a week -- and always substantive. The only out-of-country trip I can foresee might be one to Mexico, depending on how we read the effect on and need for the Chicano vote. The rest of the newsleads would come from Washington and, with the exception of paid radio talks and paid TV, would be natural outgrowths of being President.

The First Family

I think we should bend every effort to get them out of Washington and keep them on the road. Human interest shots in the Washington papers aren't going to be of any help. The only specific thought I have is that Mrs. Nixon's Legacy of Parks national tour was so successful that we may want to replay it -- if there is one thing that we can find in all of the key states, it's parks.

Theme of Campaign

From the disarray of the Democratic years, the President has made an important start at restructuring international and domestic affairs to bring us peace, stability and progress. But his reforms

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are still in the process of becoming -- his Presidency is only halfway home. We need to put that theme into a catchy phrase to compete with McGovern's (Fauntroy's?) "Come home, America." The major danger, as I see it strategically, is that McGovern will succeed in identifying himself as a general spokesman for discontent and the need for change -- a mood that the polls show is shared by a majority of the people. We have got to avoid being cast as defenders of the status quo. We should try to show, rather, that the President's first term has been one of change -- in restructuring international relationships, in proposing basic governmental reform, in salving the American spirit from the divisiveness of 1968 -- but that his type of change builds on the past that has made our country great and does not repudiate it.

July 21, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

LARRY HIGBY

FROM:

BRYCE HARLOW

SUBJECT:

Follow-Up on Campaign
Strategy

I stand on my previous memo as amended in the two meetings I have just attended with HRH.

(I talked with Mr. Harlow this morning and he asked that I submit this comment.) CaR

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 21, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: HARRY S. DENT *HSD*
SUBJECT: Update on June 16 Campaign Strategy Memo

I still agree with the basic suggestions contained in my June 16 memo. I add these post-convention suggestions:

- 1) A special organization to enlist blue collar workers similar to the proposed Democrats for Nixon organization.
- 2) Play up the snubbing of all the groups not given a quota at Miami--like farmers, blue collars, ethnics, senior citizens, veterans, et al. This can be done at our convention.
- 3) Establish McGovern's campaign emblem as the white flag-- pictures of him with the white flag behind his head.
- 4) Devise a PR program for Wallace people showing that RN got "the message." Voter ID programs and polls should reveal potential Wallace votes for us and how to get them.
- 5) Set up a realignment operation now to exploit switchover possibilities while the convention is fresh and as campaign heats up. This can be continued after the campaign to encourage and speed switching which should be good between now and 1976. The South is particularly ripe on this. If we don't program and plan on this, we won't reap our potential.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 20, 1972

EYES ONLY/ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: ROBERT H. FINCH 
SUBJECT: Update on Campaign Strategy
(In light of the Democratic
Convention)

In addition to what was set forth in my earlier memo, I would argue that the only way we can lose the election is to foul up our own convention.

We must not make Miami Beach an armed camp.

We must tag those who want to embarrass and confront us as McGovern supporters.

It must be a Party convention simply re-nominating the President for re-election --- not a White House operation. The Convention must not disintegrate into youth vs. the President.

How do we accomplish this?

Let's have Republican senators (i.e. Scott, Brooke, Javits et al) take the Senate Floor and insist that McGovern, Eagleton (and the few avowed Democrat senators who support their ticket) ask their supporters to refrain from violence at Miami Beach.

MacGregor and/or Dole should lay down a firm line distinguishing protest from violence. In other words, the Party wants discussion but will allow no disorder.

We should see to it that a large number of our young people move among the demonstrators. A few thousand Billy Graham Dallas-Explo types committed to non-violence could dilute the critical mass of hot and frustrated militants.

The Party should organize a group of young Administration spokesmen as a "communications corps" to offer to talk to demonstrators or be near by any television situation. Young Administration officials and Republican office holders who have had experience handling young, explosive crowds can be sent out where needed to avoid dangerous confrontations and to show the television audience that this Administration does communicate and listen. The group should have the proper racial, ethnic, and sex balance as well as being able to withstand verbal and physical abuse.

Let's have other events at the Convention which show continuity and confidence in our system, and in our Party, like the President meeting with former Republican National Chairmen. This will appeal to a lot of organization Democrats who have been badly treated and points up the ignoring of the LBJ types so obvious at their convention.

One final thought: Let's not indulge in overkill to the point where McGovern becomes a sympathetic figure. We have enough good, substantive material on the issues without getting into personalities.

THE WHITE HOUSE

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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 20, 1972

2:00 p.m.

MEMORANDUM FOR:

LARRY HIGBY

FROM:

DWIGHT L. CHAPIN



Regarding your July 19 memorandum on campaign strategy, any alterations I would make in my original remarks are minute. Therefore, I'll let my original memo stand as is.

Regarding a separate memo on the best scheduling use of Mrs. Nixon, Tricia and Julie, Parker and I have a memo on the way to Bob. It covers the President plus the ladies and their husbands. That memo will be in to you tomorrow.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

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